THE LIFE AND WORK
OF
GRIFFITH JONES
OF LLANDDOWROR

BY
F. A. CAVENAGH
PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE
OF SWANSEA

CARDIFF
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MADAM BEVAN

(from the portrait by Allan Ramsay, in the Collection of Mrs. Stepney Gulston).

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PREFACE.

As the bicentenary of Griffith Jones is being celebrated this year, the Press Board of the University of Wales has decided to issue this reprint of two articles which appeared in the *Journal of Adult Education* for 1926–27. Since they were written, several people have kindly pointed out inaccuracies, and directed me to sources that I had missed. I am extremely grateful for such help ; and I have corrected all mistakes of fact. Where, however, I differ from my critics in matters of judgment and interpretation, I have thought it better to make only slight modifications of the original passages. A point of view may turn out to be wrong ; but until it is disproved it is worth stating.

The sources for the life of Griffith Jones are meagre. The earliest biography is a sixpenny pamphlet published in 1762 : " A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Reverend and Pious Mr. Griffith Jones, late Rector of *Llanddowror* in *Carmarthenshire* ; The First Projector and Conductor of the *Welch Circulating* Schools throughout the Principality of *Wales*." This is reprinted, almost verbatim, in *The Gospel Magazine* (July–August, 1777) over the signature " H. P., Sarum "; i.e., in all probability H. Philipps, who had been "a master for some years to these schools in three different counties." It is unfortunate that the writer, instead of using his personal knowledge of Griffith Jones, fills twenty out of twenty-four pages with unctuous and indiscriminate encomium of his sanctity. This incredible sketch has been copied by many subsequent biographers*—unpardonably, since they possessed, but deliberately ignored, contemporary evidence of a very different colour. In 1752 there appeared " Some Account of the Welch Charity Schools," by the Rev. John Evans, of Eglwys Cymmin. This work is admittedly an attack, indeed a malicious and often untruthful attack ; but it is impossible to suppose that the clergyman of a neighbouring parish would have dared to put his name to what was nothing

* But not by the Rev. D. Ambrose Jones.

UNITED THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
OCT 19 1960

but a bundle of lies—lies, many of which could have been exposed by numerous witnesses. No honest biographer can neglect this pamphlet ; on the contrary, he will rejoice at finding some signs of human weakness in his hero.

For the rest, we have stray references, e.g., in the files of the S.P.C.K., and in the letters of Howel Harris and the Morisiaid ; there is likewise the *Marwnad* of Williams Pantycelyn—for what it is worth.

The huge corpus of Griffith Jones's own writings is singularly disappointing for our purpose. It is unlikely that his theological works contain anything about himself ; but this must remain conjectural, since it is doubtful whether any living person has read through them. But the prefaces to the twenty odd numbers of *Welch Piety* do tell us something of the man ; it is true the pearls are hidden under a mass of dreary moralizing ; but for all that, every word of them must be read. On the other hand, the letters to Madam Bevan, where one really would expect to find interest, are lamentably religious. The pious editor who (in 1832) gave to the world ninety-four of the 174 letters extant, carefully excised every slightest personal touch—so that the volume might contain nothing but a complete course in divinity. He would certainly have found favour with Griffith Jones ; but it was not fair dealing with posterity. The late Rev. M. H. Jones has gone over the originals, and has published extracts from the omitted portions (*Trans. Carmarthenshire Antiq. Soc.*, Parts 38, 39); they are certainly some help. But when all is said and done, there is no means of forming a real judgment on the man himself—there is no contemporary portrait, either in words or in paint. He must remain a mysterious figure, forceful, successful, and to that extent admirable ; but unsatisfying to the seeker after truth.

The portrait of Madam Bevan, from the original of Allan Ramsay in the collection of Mrs. Stepney Gulston, Derwydd, Carmarthenshire, is reproduced by kind permission of the *Western Mail.*

It may be added that even the most suitable date for celebrating his bicentenary is uncertain ; as will be seen, 1737 was the year in which the Circulating Schools had " their first rise."

F. A. CAVENAGH.

May 1, 1930.

CHAPTER I

THE MAN.

GRIFFITH JOHN, or Jones (to use the later and better-known form of the family name), was the fourth son of John ap Griffith, Cilrhedyn, and Elinor John, his wife. Lieut.-Colonel G. Tucker Thomas* has not only traced his ancestry back to the 11th century, but has proved almost certainly that he was born, not in Cilrhedyn, but in the neighbouring parish of Penboyr—a mountainous district on the borders of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire. The year of his birth was 1683, but the month is unknown ; he was baptized in Cilrhedyn Church on 1st May, 1684,† two months after his father's death. The assertion‡ that his parents were nonconformists depends less on evidence than on the wishes of his biographers ; for it enabled the dissenters to claim him as originally their own, and their opponents to excuse his undoubted leanings towards Methodism as the result of an hereditary taint. The Rev. John Evans is discreetly non-committal ; " of Christian parents," he writes, " but of what *Denomination* or *Party*, it is hard to say." It is true that his father, in the fashion of the day, left 4*s*. to the cathedral church of St. David's and 2*s*. to the church at Cilrhedyn ; but this munificence cannot be held to prove adherence to the Established Church.

We have no certain knowledge of Griffith Jones's boyhood. Philipps in his *Sketch* contents himself by declaring that

" a Thirst for Learning, joined with good natural Parts, discovered itself in him very early, by his frequent Application to Study when he was very young."

* See " A Short Study in Welsh Genealogy," in *Arch. Cambr.*, December, 1923—an article from which most of the facts embodied in this paragraph have been taken.

† " The Revd. Mr. Griffith Jones (the worthy, pious, charitable and faithful Rector of this par : for 45 years, Minister of Llandiloe Abercowin for 50 yr.) was buried April 11th. N.B. He was christened at Killrhedyn Church, May day, 1684, ordained Deacon Septr. 19th, 1708—ordained Priest Septr. 25. 1709—preferred to Llandiloe July 3, 1711—preferred to Landowror July 27 1716. died Apl. 8 1761 aged 77." Llanddowror Parish Register, 1761.

‡ E.g., in the *D.N.B.* Cf. a pamphlet by T. L. (i.e., Thomas Levi, Aberystwyth), published by the R.T.S. in 1883.

John Evans is more explicit.

" In his Youth he was very wild, if not very wicked, and his particular Aversion to his Books and his School, gave his Father great Heartburnings, but no Hope : But calling to mind the *Parable* of the *Prodigal Son*, he collected thence some Hints for sending his Son *Griffith* to Herd, not his Swine, but his Sheep ; in hopes that the cold bleak Mountains of *Lîl-rhedyn** would soon bring the Youth to reflect, that there was better Living at his Father's House, if he would return to his Obedience ; and that it was warmer being at *School*, if he would submit to go to it. Here the Cold drove him to a Shelter, where he had no sooner laid himself down, but lo ! *a deep Sleep from the Lord fell upon him ;* and the *Angel of the Lord* came unto him, raised him up, and carried him into *Heaven :* And having showed him all the Joys and Happiness *there*, laid up in store for the *Saints*, the same Angel carried him down into *Hell ;* and having discovered unto him all the *Secrets* of that *Kingdom of Darkness*, he conveyed him back again, and laid him down where he had found him, under the Hedge in *Lîlrhedyn :* But not without first acquainting him by the Way, that it was one of the everlasting Decrees of the Almighty, whereby he had disposed of every thing, from the Foundation of the World, that Mr. *Griffith Jones* was to be a *chosen Vessel to bear his Name*, a *peculiar Instrument* for *rescuing many Souls*, that were now far gone on their way to that Place of Torment ; and to fetch them back to that Bliss and Glory, which no Eye but Mr. *Jones's* had seen since St. *Paul's*.

This Account (particularly that part of it, where so many Persons were said to be on their way to Destruction) made such a strong Impression on the Lad, that it awaked him out of his Trance : And being now so wonderfully called to be a Shepherd of Men, he stayed not to look after his Father's Sheep, of which he had not one before him ; but made hast home, to tell his Father his Vision. . . .

From this Time the Father began to entertain great Hopes of his Son *Griffith*, he sent him to School, where he had not continued long, before the Thoughts of what the Angel had told him of the People being far gone on the broad Way to Destruction, put him upon making Haste to overtake them, and making a Push for Episcopal Ordination for that purpose."

* Throughout this pamphlet L takes the place of C in certain names. I have preserved the original spelling.

So far the Rev. John Evans. Now it is always dangerous to sift evidence—to accept one statement, and refuse another. The references to Griffith Jones's father are palpably absurd ; yet must all the rest fall with them ? Prof. W. J. Gruffydd* has argued the importance of this heavenly vision in the career of Griffith Jones. And it may well be believed that he saw some hallucination. We have other evidence of his neurotic nature. He suffered from asthma—often a neurotic disorder ; he was moody—subject to fits of depression—felt best both in body and mind on Sundays, when it was essential for him to be most vigorous. The saintly type, whether Socrates or St. Joan, is often the prey of hallucinations ; it is no degradation to Griffith Jones to suppose that this vision became the driving force of his life. Most certainly he needed to tap the " unconscious " energy in order to create some system out of chaos, to work through years of feeble health against apathy and virulent opposition.

Less important (though possibly true) is John Evans's statement that :

" The *Trade* to which he served the *longest* Apprenticeship, was *that* of a *Turner* of *Wooden Dishes*, at which a Parishioner of his assures me, that he has often seen him Work in his Master's Shop at *Lwm-Lych*, which, I think, is in the Parish where he was born ; and that he exercised this Trade, for his Pleasure and Diversion, at *Landowror*, since he was Rector there."

Presumably he turned wood before he herded sheep ; but many a rustic has done odd jobs before finding his life's vocation.

" After he had spent some Time at a Country School [continues the *Sketch*] his Mother put him under the Care of an eminent Classic Scholar, who taught a Grammar School at *Carmarthen*. Mr. Jones made great proficiency in the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages, and other Branches of Learning, though he laboured at that Time under the great Disadvantage of a very weak Constitution of Body."

Nothing, it may be remarked, in his writings suggest any real scholarship†. " If any one," shrewdly observes John

* See *Y Llenor*, II. 3 (Hydref, 1923).

† It may be noted that after 1737 the entries in the parish register of Llanddowror are in English instead of Latin.

Evans, " reflected on his *Education*, he insisted upon it, that there was *nothing* learnt at our *Universities*, but *Drinking* and *Smoaking*." This was doubtless true of the period ; but it is plain that the grapes were sour. Still, there were compensations.

" He had a very serious Turn of Mind from his Youth up " [needless to say, the quotation is from the *Sketch*]; " and was often observed to retire from those Pleasures and Amusements which engage Mankind, especially in their younger Years. The Pleasures of Religion, and the Satisfaction arising from the unbounded ravishing Prospects of a blisful Immortality, sweetly engaged his Thoughts, which are lost to the Mind that is ever in a Croud."

In modern language, he displayed introvert tendencies.

We have no means of knowing how long he stayed at Carmarthen Grammar School. According to John Evans,

" Nathanael *Morgan*, late of the County Burrow of *Carmarthen*, Esq ; to whom Mr. *Jones* then applied for his Interest with the Bishop, as being the Publick Register, and the Bishop's also, took upon him to examine Mr. *Jones* in some easy *Latin* Book ; and advised him to have Patience for two or three Years longer, for that it would require no less Time to qualify him for Holy Orders. Whether he offered himself to the Bishop at this Time I know not ; that he offered himself many Times since without success Mr. *Morgan* assured me."

The only recorded fact is that

" he received Deacon's Orders from the Right Reverend and very Learned Bishop Bull,* on *September* 19, 1708 ; and was ordained Priest at *Abermarlais* Chapel, *September* 25, 1709, by the same worthy Prelate ; of whom Mr. Jones always spoke with an Air of the highest Esteem ; and from whom he received some Advices and Counsels that were always recent in his Mind " (*Sketch*, p. 4).

It is uncertain whether his first curacy was in his own home, Cilrhedyn ; this is at least implied by John Evans. Much more important is the fact that he soon became curate of

* George Bull (1634–1710), who became bishop of St. David's in 1705. He was evidently one of the best English bishops of Wales, but (to quote the Diocesan History) " already beyond three score and ten years of age, and in such a failing state of health as to incapacitate him for the efficient discharge of his duties."

Laugharne, for he now entered the district round the mouth of the Taf, where he was to spend the remainder of his life. Llandilo Abercywyn, and Llanddowror; Laugharne,* the home of Mrs. Bevan; Eglwys Cymmin, the seat of his greatest enemy; all these lie within a few miles of each other. It is probable that he now first met one who was to determine his whole career—Sir John Philipps, Bart., of Picton Castle. The introduction has been usually ascribed to Thomas Philipps, vicar of Laugharne, who is described† as the son of Sir John; but as the baronet was not married until December, 1697, we must hope that the story is untrue.‡

At any rate the first reference to Griffith Jones in Sir John's correspondence occurs after he obtained the living of Llandilo Abercywyn in 1711. In a letter to the S.P.C.K.,§ dated 24th October, 1712, he writes :—

"That ther's a very worthy Clergyman in Carmarthensh^{e} whose name is Jones that has lately discover'd an inclination to goe to Tranquebar, and for that end is desirous to acq^{t} himself with the Portuguese Language and would gladly receive a Portuguese Gram^{r} if it can be procur'd."

A month later (20th November) he writes :—

"That he had communicated the Society's proposal to Mr. Jones for going as a Schoolmaster to the East Indies. That he was under some tyes by the affect^{ns} of the people where he is, however that he w^{d} consider of it and by the latter end of this month make his answer."

And again on 13th December :—

"That Mr. Jones is inclin'd to imbrace the Society's proposal of going to Madras, but will not declare himself absolutely determin'd before he has been in London, not to make the best terms for himself (wherein he is altogether passive) but to be furnish'd with the properest means to fit him for so great a Trust. That he has already made considerable progress in the Spanish Language w^{ch} will facilitate

* Nowadays best known from its vicinity to Pendine sands, where motorists establish world's records.

† By the Rev. David Jones: *Life and Times of Griffith Jones*, p. 65.

‡ In reality he was the third son of a John Phillips, of Carmarthen. (See Spurrell's *Carmarthen*, p. 182.)

§It was the parent Society that offered Griffith Jones this work; not its offshoot, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (as is often stated).

his understanding the Portuguese. That when he goes, he shall desire some part of what the Society allows him may be paid to his mother, who is very tender of him, and yet willingly resigns him up to the hand of Providence."

However, in spite of urgent solicitation and much heart-burning, Griffith Jones eventually decided otherwise. In May, 1713, he writes to the Society "That for his own part he confesses himself more wanting to be fedd, than qualify'd to feed other people, and that besides much tribulation he has few other marks of being in favour with God. That 'tis not the belief of his unmeetness and insufficiency only which hinders him from resolving upon the Mission to Malabar, but likewise, the extreamly miserable blindness of his own country; but that as to this, he shall resign himself to the Will and Providence of God. He proposes very speedily to set out for London the shortest and most convenient way as he shall be advis'd in order to wait upon the Society." It was, by the way, presumably on this visit that he preached before Queen Anne—if Williams, Pantycelyn is to be credited :

Clywodd hithau rym ei ddoniau,
Freiniol ardderchocaf Anne ;

the hymnist's other statement

Fe gadd Scotland oer ei wrandaw,
Draw yn eitha 'r gogledd dir,

contains, as we shall see, an element of truth.

In October he still "patiently waits the direction of Providence"; by the next month (22nd November, 1713), his patience is rewarded, for he can now definitely announce :

"That as to y^{e} invitation of going to the Indies as a Missionary, he thinks himself obliged to decline it upon the prospect he has of doing more service to religion in his Native Country that he can propose to do abroad."

Although these negotiations turned out fruitless, they must have had a profound effect on Griffith Jones. The obscure country parson, who can hardly have been outside the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen, is taken up by the wealthy and most influential Sir John Philipps ;* he corresponds not only

* Sir John was uncle to Sir Robert Walpole's wife—a fact which must have counterbalanced his suspected Jacobitism (see R. T. Jenkins, *Griffith Jones of Llanddowror*, p. 23).

with the S.P.C.K., but with foreign clergy, Patrick Cockburn, Minister of the English Church at Amsterdam; Böhme, Chaplain of Prince George of Denmark; perhaps with A. H. Francke of Halle, who also was interested in the mission.* He visits London, and (it may be) preaches before the Queen. It speaks highly for the man that his head was not turned by all this attention; his opponents doubtless would say that it was. For in the next year (1714) we find him arraigned in the Bishop's Court for irregularities due to his zeal in preaching. Of this trial we have two accounts. John Evans writes :—

"The *Clergy*, after long Suffering, were at length exasperated; They made their *Bishop* acquainted with the *Man*, and with his *Manners;* They cited Him into the *Bishop's Court;* from whence his obstinate persisting in his former Course, would not suffer him to get out for 20 Years and upwards, if my Information be right: I can only say, of *my own Knowledge*, that He was for a *considerable Term of Time* prosecuted for such his Irregularities in that Court; during which Time, I have myself often stood to hear his *Trials*, when a Youth in *Carmarthen School*."

And he goes on to give a most circumstantial account of a trial before "the Rev. Mr. *David Havard*, sometime *Chaplain* to *Bishop Bull* . . . and at *that Time* Surrogate of that Court at *Carmarthen*," which, if true, convicts Griffith Jones of "*ridiculous Prevarication*, and something *worse* if it had its *proper Name*" in his way of getting leave to preach in the parishes of other clergy.

On the other hand, Sir John Philipps writes (letter to the S.P.C.K., 9th October, 1714) :—

"That Mr. Jones of Laugharne has lately undergone a Sort of Tryal before the Bishop of St. David's at Carmarthen, where several of the clergy appear'd against him, whose principal accusation was his neglecting of his own Cure, and intruding himself into the Churches of other Ministers without their leave, the contrary whereof was manifestly prov'd, viz., that he never preach'd in any other place without being invited either by y^e^ Incumbent, Curate, or some of y^e^ best inhabitants of the Parish. That he had indeed preach'd twice or thrice without y^e^ walls of y^e^ Church, the reason of

* I have little doubt that the title of Griffith Jones's yearly report, *Welch Piety*, was imitated from Francke's *Pietas Hallensis*—a work which had been translated and printed in London (1705).

wch was because the church was not large enough to contain ye hearers, which sometimes amounted to 3 or 4,000 people. That his defence was so clear and satisfying that the Bp declar'd he was willing Mr. Jones should preach anywhere, having an invitation from the Minr of ye place."

Both accounts are clearly biased, and it is hard to form an opinion. Probably Griffith Jones was guilty of some breach of professional etiquette, and John Evans obviously makes the most of it.

But the affair is interesting only as showing the energy of the man ; already he was not content with the duties of his parish, but must seek a wider sphere. It was this quality which later caused him to embark on the great scheme of the Circulating Schools. Incidentally it suggests that his preaching had made some stir ; and we have evidence as to his extraordinary gifts. After making allowance for the bombastic piety of the language, the following passage from the *Sketch* undoubtedly describes a most effective, if emotional, preacher :

" His Pulpit Accomplishments were so very uncommon, that it is exceeding difficult to describe them.—In reading divine Service he was devout without Affectation . . . When he came into the Pulpit, it was with Reverence and holy Fear.—His Attitude was erect, natural and becoming.—His Prayer was fervent.—He had an unassuming Solemnity and Seriousness in his Face, sweetened with all the Meekness of Charity and Love. The Fire of Zeal, chastened with Modesty, kindled in his Eyes.—His Mind was full-fraught with the Idea of his Subject ; yet not forgetful of the Presence of his Auditory, or the Respect due to them. His Pronunciation and Manner of Speaking in the Beginning was tranquil and easy.—In the Explication of his Text, or any divine Truth, he had a peculiar Air of Familiarity, something resembling Conversation ; unless where he had occasion to relate Events, or touch on those Circumstances that were interesting or moving.—As he advanced, his Subject fired him more and more. How spirited was his utterance! His Hearers could feel their Blood thrill within them. One could plainly see the various Passions he would inspire by turns rising in his own Breast, and working from the very Depth of his Heart.—One while he glowed with ardent Love to his Fellow-Creatures, anon he flamed with a just Indignation at the Enemies of their Souls. Again he swelled with a holy Disdain at the Turpitude of Sin, then melted with Grief and Fear lest some

of his Hearers should neglect their Day of Grace, and thereby perish eternally. Every Feature, Nerve and Part about him were intensely animated.—One while his Eyes were effusing the soft Radiance of Compassion towards his Hearers, presently after piercing severely into the Sinner's Bosom, or saddened with Sorrow at Human Misery, or burning with Indignation at human Folly. "*His Face* (as Milton says) *was the Mirror of his Mind.*"—Add to this his significant Gestures, which always suited themselves to the Passions he would express, whether Admiration, Aversion, Joy, Sorrow, Surprise, Pity, Indignation, etc. . . . In refuting, remonstrating and reproving, he assumed the Tone of Conviction and Authority; but when he came to the Application, he entered upon it with a solemn Pause. He seemed to summon up all his remaining Force; he gave way to a superior Burst of religious Vehemence and, like a flaming Meteor, did bear down all before him.—His Voice broke Silence, and proceeded with a sort of dignified Pomp.—Every Word was like a fresh Attack, and carried with it a sort of triumphant Accent.—No wonder that his Hearers wept, when the Preacher himself burst into Tears.—No wonder that he was so successful in the Conversion of Sinners, when it was the divine Spirit that made the Word effectual.—By his Preaching the Drunkards became sober; the Sabbath-breakers were reformed; the Prayerless cried for Mercy and Forgiveness; and the Ignorant were solicitously concerned for an Interest in the divine Redeemer."

The quotation is by no means complete, but is doubtless sufficient for the reader. It certainly reads like a description of the *hwyl;* yet one of his biographers* denies that Griffith Jones employed that technique in his preaching.

In connection with the trial, one story told by John Evans is too amusing to be omitted. He relates that, as a result of the scandal, "His Congregations at *Landowror* and *Landilo* grew thin; and himself grew out of Credit and out of Countenance." He had, therefore, to try "Stratagems to replenish his Churches." One was to give a dole of bread to those who would attend once a month and learn a text of scripture; but when this plan lost its novelty, he had to devise something more sensational.

* Rev. John Morgan: *Four Biographical Sketches* (1892), p. 133.

" The Story of his *Journey* to *Heaven* and *Hell* was now too stale for the Purpose ; a *new* one must therefore be forged ; and in a very short Time out came the following.

" As Mr. *Griffith Jones* was returning Home, on Horseback, from a Visit to his Father, or to those of his Father's House, of a very *dark* night, in a *hollow, deep, narrow* Lane, the *Devil* mounts behind him : Mr. *Jones,* nothing terrified, asks who is there ? *Devil*—Thy deadly Enemy, as thou art mine, the *Devil. Griffith Jones*—What is thy Business with me ? *Devil*—To tear thee to pieces with these Claws ; throwing his Arms at the same Instant over Mr. *Jones's* Shoulders, and shewing him his Claws ; which, the Story says, were not unlike the *Griffin's* Claws, but much *longer,* and more *crooked ;* and by so much the better fitted both to *seize* and to *retain* his *Prey.* From hence was taken Occasion always, in relating this *Story,* to expatiate on the great and almost *insuperable* Difficulty of getting out of the *Devil's Clutches.* And yet, as difficult as this was represented to be, the Story ends with the Devil's *horrible Complaint against* Mr. *Jones ;* for having *rescued, out of these very clutches, many a Soul,* which the *Devil* had *long before reckoned as his own, past all Redemption :* And with a Declaration, that *he was afraid of no other Minister of the Church of* England, *but of Mr.* Jones."

To return, however, to more certain facts. On 27th July, 1716, Griffith Jones was preferred to the Rectory of Llanddowror by Sir John Philipps. " This Living " (the *Sketch* is careful to add) " was given him by Sir John intirely upon the account of his Learning and Piety, without Solicitations from Mr. Jones or any of his Friends." However that may be, a friendship had evidently sprung up between the two. In 1718 Sir John took Griffith Jones as his companion on a trip through Wales to Gretna, returning by the east coast. Jones's diary of this journey (in an incomplete form) was discovered by the late Principal Davies and printed by him in the *Journal of the Calvinist Methodist Historical Society.**(1) It is not, unfortunately, a very interesting document ; though in the absence of evidence one cherishes any vestige of the man. One remark at least is characteristic : after ten days' journey he notes : " I have now seen a great deal of God's works and ye world's vanity." At any rate this journey gave Griffith Jones some idea of the geography of Wales, which must have been very useful in his later work.

* Vol. VII, No. 1 (March, 1922). It is printed as an Appendix, by the kind permission of the editor, the late Rev. M. H. Jones.

Four years later Griffith Jones married Margaret, Sir John's sister. "We have no means of knowing anything of her character or disposition," writes the Rev. David Jones; "but it is natural to conclude that she shared the views of her brother and her husband." Yet there is at least negative evidence that she did not.* There is not a single reference to her throughout *Welch Piety;* whilst the passages which Mr. David Jones himself quotes from the letters to Madam Bevan suggest no great affection: "his poor wife complains much of her usual pain"; "she has been extremely bad with a cough, which, with a fit of scolding, reconciled her to take some medicine, and she is much the better for it." If there had been any deep sympathy between them, could the husband have written to Madam Bevan, "Only in Sir John and you do I find the spirit of true religion" (26th September, 1735), and again (March, 1738). "You are the only one in Wales who understands me"? And does not his promise that "We will agree to make a particular remembrance of one another before the throne of grace when alone every day," imply that the emotional stimulus which modern psychology seeks behind every activity was found by Griffith Jones in Madam Bevan, rather than in his wife? The motives for the marriage can indeed only be guessed at. Jones was now 37, and the lady was eight years older; on the other hand, she was of much higher social status, and she doubtless had money. The living of Llanddowror was worth only £38 a year—a stipend on which the country parson of that day was "passing rich"; but additional means would be useful to a man with such ambitious schemes. Further, the respect and affection which Griffith Jones had for her brother was, perhaps, the most important factor in forming the match. But whatever the motives may have been, Griffith Jones was mated for life; for, in spite of her ill-health, his wife lived till 1755, her eightieth year.†

* One can only dismiss as hearsay the following: "Mrs. Jones was evidently a true help-meet to him, and in full sympathy with his ardent zeal. . . . His letters to her are spoken of as exhibiting the tenderest solicitude for her welfare, and evidencing in the strongest manner his gentle and affectionate disposition." Rev. John Morgan, *Four Biographical Sketches*, 1892.

† "Mrs. Margaret Jones (a very pious and charitable woman) wife of the Reverend Griffith Jones, ye worthy Rector of this Parish, was buried on ye 8 Day of January in or about ye 80th year of her Age, having lived after she was married to him about 35 Years. NB. She departed this Life Jan: 5, 1755." Llanddowror Parish Register (1755).

There are two accounts, neither very convincing, of Griffith Jones's introduction to Madam Bevan. It has been asserted* that, before her marriage, " she received her first serious impressions under his apostolic ministry " in Llanllwch Church, of which his nephew David Jones was incumbent. David Jones, however, was born in 1711, and became Vicar of Llanllwch in 1748 ; whereas his uncle's correspondence with Madam Bevan dates from 1732. So that, if the story is true, he must have preached at Llanllwch long before his nephew's appointment there. Another account† states that it was through the family of John Dalton, Cloch y Frân, a parishioner at Llanddowror, that

" Mr. Griffith Jones became intimate with their benevolent kinswoman, Mrs. Bridget Bevan, the pious and richly-endowed widow of Arthur Bevan, Esq., K.C., who honoured him with her friendship, and made him the almoner of her bounty, which was very large."

The wording is inexact, for Mr. Bevan did not die till 1745 ; and by 1743 Griffith Jones had written her at least 174 letters. However, once he had married into a county family, it would not be difficult for him to become friendly with pious gentlefolk. Madam Bevan's father, John Vaughan of Derllys, was intimate with Sir John Philipps ; he was moreover a corresponding member of the S.P.C.K., and he was interested in the Charity School movement—himself founding a school at Llangunnog in 1705. It is certain that the daughter too was occupied with Charity Schools, although from what date it does not appear. On 21st November, 1736, Griffith Jones writes to her : " I hope to be favoured this week by you, with a good account of your schools in Llandilo and Llandibie "; but this need not imply that they were of her foundation. There was indeed every reason why they should find each other congenial.

Of Madam Bevan's character we have a few glimpses. " I have been introduced to Lady‡ Bevan, lady of the town

* David Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 49 (with quotation from *Christian Guardian*, September, 1809, p. 334). The words " with whom he used to exchange duties " imply that Madam Bevan's conversion occurred during the nephew's incumbency.

† *Christ. Guard.*, April, 1827, p. 125, cit. D. Jones, *op. cit.* p. 203.

‡ He evidently feels that she *ought* to have a title. Was it a similar feeling which led to her being always called " Madam " ?

member," writes Howel Harris to his brother. " She gives up herself entirely to doing good, distributes Welsh Bibles about, has several charity schools on her own foundation. She has, they tell me, about £500 per annum at her own command (she has no children), and spends it mostly on charitable uses. I think she is the finest lady I ever saw in all respects." And Harris was not without knowledge of women. His impression is borne out by her portrait, the work of Allan Ramsay, who was the most fashionable portrait painter of his day. Dressed in the elaborate style of the period, she seems less intent on the book of Psalms that lies open on her lap than on the admiration of the beholder.

The aristocratic author of *The Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon** supplies further information.

" She was very handsome, sensible, and accomplished. Her husband, Arthur Bevan, Esq., was Rector† of the County-Borough of Carmarthen, and for fourteen years its representative in Parliament ; his public conduct was at once dignified and endearing, and he died (March 6th, 1745, aged 56), beloved and lamented."

Mrs. Bevan belonged to the set of well-born evangelicals which did so much to foster early Methodism.

" At every visit of Mr. Whitefield to Bath " (continues the same writer) " he preached in Mrs. Bevan's house, and at the period of which we speak, the Earls of Chesterfield and Huntingdon, and Mrs. Stanhope, were among the distinguished auditory. Mrs. Bevan's elegant and accomplished manners attracted Lord Chesterfield's attention, and, having studied the Deistical writers of the age, she was enabled to give all her eminent ability and clearness to the discussion of the topics he was fond of introducing. She easily and solidly refuted his plausible objections to revealed religion."

One can picture Lord Chesterfield's easy refutation by this attractive lady!

* " By a Member of the Houses of Shirley and Hastings," 2 vols., London, 1844.

† The writer's " unconscious " has substituted this word for " Recorder."

Fortunately, the writer quotes a passage from a letter of Mrs. Bevan's to Lady Huntingdon—her one surviving contribution to literature.

"Lord Chesterfield's inclination to subvert Christianity has involved me in many inconsistencies. A greater proof of his prejudices and his being reduced to the last distress in point of argument is his general clamours and invectives against *all* historical evidence, as absolutely uncertain ; and it is not so much the corruptions of Christianity that his Lordship finds fault with, as with the Christian revelation itself, which he does not scruple to represent as the product of enthusiasm or imposture. Yet, at other times, he will agree with me, that never were there any facts that had clearer and more convincing evidence attending them, than the extraordinary and miraculous facts whereby the divine original and authority of the Christian revelation was attested and confirmed. This strange fluctuation of opinion I can account for only on this ground—that the incontrovertible and undeniable evidence of these facts has overcome the notions and prejudices with which his mind has been so strongly prepossessed ; and it is this shaking of the Babel of unbelief that fills me with hope that the great Dispenser of spiritual benefits will, of His free grace and mercy, reveal to his Lordship's mind the grand and harmonious system of revealed truth, the several parts of which are like so many parts of a beautiful chain, one part answering to another, and all concurring to exhibit an admirable plan, in which the wisdom, the grace, and goodness, and the righteousness of God, most eminently shine forth. Your Ladyship's great intimacy with, and friendship for, Lord Chesterfield, has induced me to be thus minute in what related to him. Of Lord Huntingdon, I have not had much opportunity of forming an opinion ; but I hear from good Lady Gertrude, that Sir Charles and his Lordship are inseparable, and have long and interesting discussions on the most interesting topics. He has called frequently on Mrs. Grenfield, with whom he seems much pleased. Your Ladyship is well assured she will not lose a favourable opportunity of speaking a word in season."

Of this letter the Rev. David Jones remarks : " It brings before us a person of a high intellectual order, well read in the great controversies of the eighteenth century, profoundly loyal to the fundamental truths of Revelation, and deeply anxious to rescue others from the mazes of unbelief." Well, that is

how it strikes one reader. To others it might suggest a conceited busybody, too excited by her intimacy with the great Earl of Chesterfield to realize the game he was playing with her—for in spite of all her fuss, it is doubtful whether the harmony of religion was ever fully revealed to his Lordship's mind. One cannot help feeling that less money and more family cares would have done her no harm. Even Griffith Jones found her attentions burdensome at times ; for though he writes to her (February, 1736) " I am obliged to you for the Physick, which I take regularly," yet in October, 1737, he has to say " Your wine and sugar is too fattening for me. I find plainer food the best." It is possible that, after his wife's death, he went to live with Mrs. Bevan ; at any rate he died in her house, and to her he left his fortune of £7,000 with instructions to carry on the Circulating Schools—a trust which she most faithfully fulfilled until her death in 1779. She too is buried in Llanddowror Church.*

The principal work of Griffith Jones's life, the organization of the Circulating Schools, is described in the second chapter. From 1737, when they probably started, until his death, he must have been constantly occupied in this great task. From his remote parish he sent his schoolmasters throughout Wales, keeping regularly in touch with them, and visiting many places himself. It is difficult to realize the labour that must have been involved, at a time when there were no typewriters or telephones, and when the roads of Wales can have been no more than tracks.† In addition, he compiled his annual report, *Welch Piety ;* raised funds for his Schools, and procured large numbers of Bibles and other religious works in Welsh from the S.P.C.K. In this connexion it is interesting

* A mural tablet is inscribed as follows :—

" Sacred to the Memory of Mrs. Bridget Bevan, formerly of Laugharne, who was interred in this Church A.D. 1779, aged 82 years.

" This pious and charitable lady was at the expense of educating several worthy young men for the work of the ministry and contributed largely to the public and cheap distribution of at least two impressions of the Welsh Scriptures. To her also the Principality is indebted, if not for the origin, certainly for the permanent endowment of the Welsh Circulating Charity Schools, to which she bequeathed funds amounting together with the accumulations, which accrued during a protracted suit in Chancery, to more than £30,000."

† It may be noted that the present main road was driven through the Rectory garden at Llanddowror about a century ago. Otherwise, the village, though smaller, has probably not changed greatly since the eighteenth century.

to read the three following letters which are preserved in Llanddowror Church,* all addressed to the Rev. Thomas Broughton (Secretary of the S.P.C.K., 1743–77) :—

Landowror, 1 Feb., 1748/9.

Rev^{d} and dear Sir,

I had return'd you my sincere thanks sooner for y^{r} last fav^{r}, but y^{t} I waited thus long in hope of being able to inform you before now y^{t} y^{e} Welch Bibles and Cat^{ms} on Board the Racehorse of Carmarthen—Rees Master, were come safe ; but that Ship is not arrived as yet but was well (as I have been informed) ab^{t} a Fortnight ago at Plimouth, and I hope will come well to Carmarthen when y^{e} Wind (which has been very stormy here for above two months past) come to be fair.

I hope y^{r} worthy Society have by this time concerted y^{e} best method of distributing y^{e} Welch Bibles to satisfy as soon as may be convenient y^{e} eager desire of some thousands here y^{t} want to buy y^{m} ; several good churchmen know not w^{t} to think of y^{e} Dissenters being served before y^{m} and am given to understand y^{t} I am censured severely and very causelessly ab^{t} it, as if this was come ab^{t} by my means, but y^{e} truth is y^{t} ab^{t} forty welch Bibles are come to every dissenting congregation, as I am inform'd, from M^{r}. Price of London y^{e} late D^{r}. Wats co-pastor. I pray God they may come speedily and with a blessing to all others y^{t} want y^{m}. I believe there is no neighbourhood where more is wanted than here I mean Bibles to sell on y^{e} Society's Terms, reserving y^{e} Bibles on acc^{t}. of y^{e} first Subscription for y^{e} poor catecumens only, in y^{e} W. schools, a favourable Answer ab^{t} it wou'd very much oblige.

I beg leave to mention a thing w^{ch} I humbly apprehend may not be improper for you to know, that there is one M^{r}. John Price Vic^{r}. of Llangevelach near Swansea Glamorganshire a very worthy clergyman, who complains y^{t} some hundreds of Bibles are wanted in his two very large parishes and intends I think, to beg leave to make his application to y^{r} Society for y^{m}, He w^{d} strictly observe y^{r} Directions ab^{t} y^{m} and is very conveniently situated to serve severall parishes ab^{t} Him in y^{e} counties of Glamorgan and Brecon and some part of Carmarthenshire with little or no expense for land carriage in y^{e} Country If they come by Sea to Swansea, I

* Transcribed by the courtesy of the Rev. Canon Lambert Rees, Rector of Llanddowror. They were purchased recently from a London bookseller, and have never (so far as I know) been printed before.

sh^d hardly have taken y^e Liberty of mentioning this very worthy Gentleman If I knew of any corresponding member near him.

It is y^e unanimous opinion of most people here, who know y^e corrupt ways of this countrey and who have y^e Instruction of y^e poor and y^e Interest of Religion at Heart, y^t if y^e Worthy Society w^d think proper to sell certain n^o of Bibles at full price it would answer great many good ends, there w^d then be no abuse in y^e Sale, to get by y^m nor w^d y^e money'd men buy without need or only for cheapness's sake, and y^e Society w^d raise a new fund to print an Impression of y^e new Test^nt with larger types for y^e benefit of ancient people which is very much desired, and if more was given or sold at half price but for y^e use of poor Catechumens instructed in y^e W. schools it woud mightily encourage catechising in Xrches and families ; If I am guilty of opening my mind too freely to y^r Hon^ble Board, tis owing to my great desire of reviving this too much neglected Duty of catechising, w^ch I hope will excuse me, for such a favourable opportunity to promote it, has not offer'd itself before and never will ag^n in my time. That it may please God to direct and bless your wise consultations to his own Glory and y^e endless welfare of y^e poor souls you labour for in Love, shall be y^e prayer of

Rev^d and dear sir

Your obliged humble servant,

G. JONES.

I have not been able as yet to find out any way to acknowledge (as I w^d desire) y^r Readiness to serve y^e cause I am embark'd in. I am taking y^e freedom now of sending you the inclosed Receipt to receive Sir John Dolben's yearly Subscription.

[*Note.*—Mr. Price, i.e., Samuel Price (uncle of the famous Richard Price) was for forty-five years the colleague of Dr. Isaac Watts at the Chapel in St. Mary Axe, Bury Street, London. Dr. Watts died November 25th, 1748.

Sir John Dolben, rector of Burton Latimer, and a friend of Atterbury (d. 1756). The reference suggests that Griffith Jones wished to remind the Secretary to secure Sir John's subscription. A letter from the Vicar of Llangefelach is included in *Welch Piety*, 1746–47.]

[Top of page apparently cut off.]

I desire to return my most humble Thanks to y^e most worthy Society for y^e Severall Cargo's of W. Bibles I have been favour'd with, the 500 I am inform'd of in y^r kind L^r

now before me, are come safe without any more Damage than y^t y^e outside or Covering of ab^t 60 of y^m were wetted, notwithstanding y^e very Stormy Weather they had at Sea. May God, as surely in his infinite Goodness he will, abundantly reward you for y^r many years Lab^{rs} in this most eminently pious Work of serving y^e poor with his holy Word. If y^e Blessings of y^e poor will come upon y^m who provide for their bodily wants what may you expect who supply the more urgent necessities of their immortal part. You have room indeed to enlarge y^r Recompence, for an equal n^o ag^n of y^e Sacred pages with this Impression, large as it is, will not suffice to satisfy y^e lamentable cry y^t still continues to be made for y^m by Thousands in this countrey who can't yet be supplied ; May God direct and prosper you in everything.

May I, dear Sir, be allow'd to hope for more Bibles soon, the n^o allotted me as appear's by Mr. Watt's L^r, Oct : 4, 1748. being 3,150. The Fav^r of y^r Honoured and worthy members will always support me under the causeless Discouragements I meet with from other people, and am to remain, with y^e greatest deference and Gratfulness, both y^e Society's and

Rev^d and dear Sir,

Your obliged humble Servant,

G. JONES.

Mrs. Bevan desires her compliments to
Mrs. Broughton and y^r Selfe.
[The docket shows the date of this letter to have been 10th February, 1749–50. The Mr. Watts mentioned in this letter and the next was presumably an official of the S.P.C.K.]

Landowror, 29, Nov^r. 1752.

Rev^d and dear Sir,

I return most humble Thanks for y^r good Society's very many fav^{rs} to me and for y^r late packet with Mr. Watt's L^r Inviting y^r corresponding members to signify what Numbers of Welch Bibles they w^d want ; I am in a great straight how to take y^e liberty to do so, because I want so many for poor catechumens. When y^e Bibles pass through other Hands, it is very well known here, y^t they are generally given by Interest and fav^r and not to y^e poorest and best qualified, I am enabled in part and well assured under certain Restrictions to be thoroughly enabled to buy y^e Value of five Hundred pounds, all to be given gratis, to encourage y^e Revival of catechising in y^e parish-Churches, and do indeed want 3 or 4 Hundred

Bibles more to sell at y^e^ Societie's price to such as are able to pay for them ; to make all my Wants known at once I stand in great need of being favoured ag^n^ as very often before with five thousand Church-Catechisms, w^ch^ are y^e^ Cat^ms^ always taught in y^e^ Welch Charity Schools everywhere. I hope the joynt Testimonies of y^e^ Rev^d^. Clergy under whose Care and Directions entirely the Schools are, will be look'd upon as sufficient to counterballance every misrepresentation of them, and of

Rev^d^ Sir,
the Societty's and your
most thankful and most obliged
humble Servant,
G. JONES.

To the Rev^d^ Mr. Broughton.

These letters throw light on the means of communication between England and South Wales in the eighteenth century ; but their chief importance lies in their evidence of the unremitting energy and zeal of their writer. He writes elsewhere* that there were upwards of 20,000 in Wales desirous of reading the Bible who could not purchase it. Copies when available were either distributed free to those who could produce a certificate from their parish clergyman that they could read,† or they were sold at cost price :

" The Price of the *Welch Bible* is reduced so low, as that it may be now had, from the above-named worthy Society, at *Three Shillings and Sixpence* without Clasps, and *Three Shillings and Ten Pence* with them ; an easy and cheap Purchase ! "

* *Welch Piety*, 1747–48.

† The following directions are printed at the beginning of Griffith Jones's book on the Catechism :—

Hysbysiad
i'r
Ysgoljon Cymraeg.

Bod i'r Tlodion, o *Fuchedd ddiargyhoedd* a ewyllysio gael *Biblau Cymraeg* yn rhâd, a o *Oedran* addas a *Bwriad* onest i wneuthur Defnydd da o honunt, *ddyfod â Sertifficât* oddi wrth *Weinidog* eu Plwyf, eu bod yn medru darllain *Cymraeg* yn *berffaith*, ac yn dyfod at eu Gweinidog i ddywedud eu *Catecism*, ac yn dysgu'r *Eglurhâad* o hono ; a'u bod yn *ymddwyn yn weddaidd*, ac yn *atteb y Gweinidog yn barchus, yng Nghwasanaeth yr Eglwys*, gyd ag *Amen* yn barchus ar ddiwedd y

The distribution of thousands of Bibles, Catechisms, etc., was a necessary corollary of the Circulating Schools ; and its effect upon the preservation of the Welsh language can hardly be estimated.

But in spite of all this admirable work, Griffith Jones did not escape censure. The attack by John Evans of Eglwys Cymmin has already been mentioned, and it is sufficiently important to merit as complete an account as the evidence permits.

It is plain that, whilst many of the clergy were in active sympathy with his work, others were either indifferent or hostile. Any symptom of Methodism* was suspect—anything savouring of "Enthusiasm," a word with associations as sinister then as are those of " Bolshevism " to-day ; thus Griffith Jones declares in *Welch Piety* "I do not incur the Brand of Enthusiasm." As far back as 1714 he had got into trouble for his zeal in preaching, and there must always have been enemies on the lookout for damning evidence. The success of the Circulating Schools would naturally incense them all the more, whilst the growth of Methodism would fill them with alarm. All this ill-feeling was crystallized by the attack of John Evans. It is obvious that there was a strong personal antipathy between the two men, accentuated by petty occasions of strife. Thus Mr. Evans had in his household an impudent young maid-servant who had been a pupil, and was still a communicant, with Griffith Jones ; but on a monthly

Gweddiau ; yn ôl Defod ddefosiynol yr holl brif Gristjonogjon yn yr Eglwys gynt. Feddylai hefyd fod *Oedran* a *Chyflyrau* y Tlodion, ac *Enwai Lleoedd* eu Trigfannau, yn y Sertiffícât. Ar yr Ammodau hyn y rhoddir cyn nifer ag ellir o *Fiblau* yn rhâd.

[Announcement to the Welsh Schools.

The poor of blameless life who desire to obtain Welsh Bibles free, and are of suitable age and honest purpose to make good use of them, should come with a certificate from the minister of their parish stating that they can read Welsh perfectly, and that they come to their minister to say their catechism and learn the exposition of it, and that they conduct themselves orderly, and respond to the minister reverently in the Church service with a reverent Amen at the end of the prayers, according to the devotional usage of all the early Christians in the early Church. I desire also the age and condition of the poor, and the names of their dwellings, in the certificate. On these conditions, as large a number of Bibles as is desired may be given free.]

* The word came into use about 1733.

sacrament being established at Eglwys Cymmin, she was persuaded to attend there.

" Mr. *Jones* hearing this, or perceiving that the young Woman did not appear before him, comes to my House, under the Colour and Pretence of a Visit to me, as a new Neighbour ; but he had not sat down ten Minutes, when this Servant came into the Parlour, and Mr. *Jones* followed her out into the Kitchen, where he stayed with her all the Time of his Visit, leaving his Parishioners, Mr. *Lewis Eaton*, and myself, to entertain one another in the Parlour ; and when he returned to us, he could not afford to sit down."

The incident is contemptible ; but when the scene is a country vicarage and the culprit rector of the next parish, and already disliked, its importance in the writer's eyes can be understood.

What led to the publication of the attack there is no means of knowing. John Evans speaks of " the late Great and Good *Bishop* of *London*, by whose Directions I undertook this Account "; and it is conceivable that he was telling the truth. For the Bishop, Edmund Gibson (d. 6th September, 1748) was strongly opposed to " Enthusiasm "; while John Evans, as a Royal Chaplain, would have opportunities of meeting him.* There is then a certain irony in the frequent quotations from the late Right Reverend Bishop of London which occur in *Welch Piety*!

It is plain that the battle had been waging some time before the publication of John Evans's *Account*. The following passage from *Welch Piety*, 1749-50,† may be quoted as a fair specimen of the pious author's controversial style :—

" In brief, Sir the *Welch* C. Schools, as I am informed, have gained a general good Report every where, notwithstanding the violent Enmity, which miserable Vassals to the Prince of Darkness, will always bear to every Design for promoting the Religion of Christ ; some undoubtedly will devise Objections to prevent the Censure they might incur, and to excuse themselves, for not affording their Assistance therein, which otherwise might be expected from them with Modesty. And others, lost to all Sense of Good and Evil, from

* Cf. p. 109, where he claims to have discussed Griffith Jones, Welsh Methodism, etc., with the Archbishop of York. Gibson was the typical Whig prelate. (See his Life, by Norman Sykes [1926].)

† Pp. 32 sqq.

the Abundance of their Hearts, will vent their malicious Slanders and Calumnies sneakingly in the Dark, the Element of their Spirit, cowardly afraid, or conscious of Shame to appear in the open Light. Who would have thought that the wicked Spirit of Envy and Reviling, w^d^ have Assurance enough, to attack so able an Advocate of the Christian Cause, as the Right Reverend Bishop of *London*, ' whose seasonable and well-judged Zeal in warning the People of his Diocese, by his most excellent Letter on the awful Occasion of the two late Earthquakes, has greatly obliged the sober-minded through all the Nation, but was most wickedly traduced, ridiculed and scoffed at by People of another Stamp.' This verifies the old and trite Observation, that Merit makes Enemies, from the natural Depravity of Mankind. It is too natural indeed now, in our degenerate State, and too common, for Persons of Infamous Characters, to be ever gnawing the more amiable ones of others : And who but Enemies to Religion and Virtue will scurrilously inveigh against the Promoters of them ? This is the Spirit that prevails where divine Charity is excluded. Such as desire Success in their Master's Service, may justifiably resent the Wickedness of those who study to render their Endeavours fruitless, and their Labours of no Effect : But to wait on these pitiable Creatures in their dirty Way of Detraction, to expostulate with them about it, w^d^ be engaging with Scolds, Spitfires, or Adders : and to what Purpose w^d^ it be ? For as the Preacher observes, *Surely the Serpent will bite without Inchantment : and a Babbler is no better.* It is the Aposteme of their Heart that they disgorge, and who would defile his Hands to fling it back again ? The heathen Philosopher scorned to return the Kick of an Ass. To treat them with Contempt only, is Tenderness ; for of all rapacious Plunderers in the World, or Beasts of Prey in the Wilderness, none are more odious or hurtful, than they who lie in wait to destroy the good Name and Usefulness of honest Men. Insomuch that I suppose, Sir, it will want no Apology, but is surely every Body's Duty to expose and abhor a Vice so base and pernicious, so grievous to all good People, and so much complained of every where ; and which w^d^ soon put a Stop to all Attempts for the Publick Good, if infinite Power, joined with infinite Wisdom and Goodness, did not preside over all the Universe in favour of them. *One Sinner*, as the Scripture saith, *destroyeth much Good.* Abandoned People, by manifest Untruths and Slanders, may prevail for some time to obstruct the best Designs, but their Aspersions, by an overruling Providence, *commonly* miss their Aim ; for when they lessen the Repute of others, they only burlesque

their own ; when they Curse in a Corner, they only betray their ill Nature and Impotence ; the Darts they fling will recoil, and stick in their own Souls ; their Envy at last will be gnawing their own Bowels, haunted within by the Spectres of their own Crimes ; for it is very certain, that Storms of outrageous Wrath, Ill-Wind and Passions, will do the greatest Harm where they are raised ; they baulk their own Design, their Raillery will be looked upon as Encomiums, by all discreet People ; and so very sure it is, that in reviling of others they fail not to expose themselves. The snivelling Stuff of their *evil-speaking, lying*, and *slandering*, is odious to all but such a vicious Taste as their own.—Generous and pious Minds, can easily discern the *Christian Spirit of Truth and Candor*, and quickly discover the malevolent one that is the Reverse of it ; insomuch that the apparent Absurdity and Malice, the inveterate Spleen and Virulence of the Adversaries' senseless, gross Falsities, and ridiculous Misrepresentation, will be sufficient to refute them, in the Judgement of all discerning People ; and want no Answers, but what the unhappy Author himself must provide for the envious Invention of them : who therefore will certainly want to be prayed for and pitied by all Men. For without the Laws of GOD and Nature could be nulled, or timely Repentance, by the Grace of GOD, step in, it must go very hard with such a Person at last." (*Welch Piety*, 1749–50, November 17th, 1750.)

Of the *Account* two samples will be sufficient ; but the title-page must be given in full. It implies that the attack was made on Griffith Jones for his Methodist tendencies : he is criticized " as a Clergyman." Incidentally one may remark that John Evans's use of the text " One Sinner destroyeth much good "—a mere *tu quoque*—is not very brilliant repartee. It runs as follows :—

" Some account of the Welsh Charity Schools ; and of the rise and progress of Methodism in *Wales*, Through the Means of Them, under the sole Management and Direction of *Griffith Jones*, Clerk, Rector of *Llandowror* in *Carmarthenshire ;* in a short History of the Life of that *Clergyman*, as a *Clergyman*.

" Goddeith a roir mewn Eithin
Gwanwyn Crâs, trwy'r Gwynnon Crin ;
Anodd fydd ei diffoddi ;
Ac *Un Dyn* a'i hennyn Hi. I.e.,

One Sinner destroyeth much Good.

'Mong these, there was a Politician,
With more Heads than a Beast in Vision;
And more Intrigues in Every one
Than all the Whores of Babylon;
And, in his Dark Pragmatick *Way,*
As busy, as a Child at Play.

London: Printed in the Year 1752."

The following passage refers specifically to that quoted from *Welch Piety*:—

"Had it not been for this" [i.e., the danger to the Church] "I, who have no personal Quarrel or Dislike to Mr. *Jones*, would not have ventured to offend a Man of his *Revengeful Temper*, and one armed at all Times with so much *Dirt*, as I have already proved him to be; and beg Leave to refer you for further Proof hereof to his *last Piety*,* where you will find him transported with *Rage* and *Fury*, ready to burst with *Venom* and *Spite*, which flung him into a violent *Fit*, that cost him a *Bath Journey* in order to purge away his *Phlegm*, whereby he was in Danger of Choaking, notwithstanding the *large Quantities* he had disgorged into *his Piety;* where you will find him scolding with *Scolds* in Languages *superlatively Billingsgate;* thundring and lightning against *Spitfires;* and, to make sure Work with them, daubing their Mouths, not with *That* wherewith his *Wife* daubs the Mouth of her *Oven*, but, with a most *nasty Quack Composition* of his *own*, made up of *Gorge, Snivel*, and Aposteme."

In this elegant contest it is hard to say who bears away the bell. It is true that Griffith Jones does not name his adversary—indeed, he writes vaguely in the plural; but everybody must have known whom he meant. Perhaps the choicest morsel is John Evans's disavowal of personal dislike! In passing, it may be suggested that the word "Aposteme" came from Griffith Jones's reading of medical books. A chronic valetudinarian, he was always dosing himself and his parishioners; "he is as great a *Quack* in *Physick* as in Divinity," as John Evans bluntly puts it.†

* This is understood of *That* ending *Michaelmas*, 1750. (Footnote in the original.)

†P. 94. Cf. the following passage from the *Sketch*: "He was very charitable to the Poor, and his unwearied Endeavours to alleviate the Distresses of the necessitous *Welch* People will render his Memory justly dear to them. He not only fed and clothed them in considerable Numbers, but was likewise Physician to their Bodies as well as their

One other extraordinary passage must be quoted :—

" I must expect to bear my Share of the Weight of . . . Mr. *Jones's Snivel, Phlegm,* and *Aposteme,* in a more particular Manner, if I do not take timely Care to prevent it. His last *Piety* gives me a Specimen of what I am to have in Return. If his Face had not always shewed the Spight and Venom of his Heart, *such Piety* sufficiently speaks *the Man.* But *Abundans Cautela non nocet;* A Man can't be *too* secure from *slanderous Tongues:*

" When Mr. *Jones* and his *Friends* shall come to throw Dirt at me, I may somewhat weaken their Hands by the following Account.

" A young Gentleman, a Clergyman, the Son of a Clergyman, and of Mr. *Jones's* Predecessor ; whose Mother was *born, lived,* and *died,* in Mr. *Jones's* Parish, came thither from England to administer to his *Mother's* Effects ; and understanding that Mr. *Jones* had play'd him a *Foul Trick,* (too long, and indeed impertinent, here to relate ; for Mr. *Jones* was guilty of it, not as a *Clergyman,* nor as *of* any *Denomination* of *Christians,* but as a *Friend*) he went often to Mr. *Jones's* House, in order to expostulate with him, but could get no Admittance. At length he was informed of a Meeting of the *Parishioners* to be at *Landowror,* whither he went, and where he found *his Man,* and quickly upbraided him with the *Trick.*

" To which (as it was *too well* known to All the People *present* to be denied) Mr. *Jones* made no other Answer than *You are a Son of a Whore.* The Young Gentleman was about to resent this, as—Who would not ? When his Mother's *Brother* quickly perceiving it, stood up and interposed. And taking upon him (as he was much about Mr. *Jones's* Age) to expostulate with Mr. *Jones,* he represented to him the great *Indecency* of such *Childish Language* from a Man of *his Years:* That if the young Man had called him a *Son of a Whore,* some might have Charity enough to plead his *Youth* in his *Excuse,* and to say, that he had not yet forgot his *School Boy's Tricks:* But what could a Man in his *Grand Climacteric* say in Defence of *such Language* ?

Souls. He had by long Study arrived at a great Proficiency in Medicine, and had large Quantities of Drugs sent him from *London* ; which he made up and dispensed to the Poor *gratis,* and, through God's Blessing, with remarkable Success. And when he had cured any of his Country-People of their bodily Distempers, and thereby gained their Love and Esteem, he never failed to take that Opportunity to second it with pathetic, judicious, and seasonable Advice, ever exhorting them to an earnest Care for their immortal Soul," etc.

" This had no *other* Effect upon Mr. *Jones* than to raise in him an *ungovernable* Stock of *Passions*, which drove him furiously upon insisting upon the *Truth of what he had said.* The *Brother* then answered—Mr. *Jones*, I have often heard you preach against *public* and *private SLANDER;* in which of these *Classes* are we to put *this* of calling a *Gentlewoman* a WHORE—Months after she is *dead* and *buried*? At this the Parishioners smil'd; which provok'd Mr. *Jones* to say—*She was a Whore*, and I *can* prove her a *Whore*, and if ye will offer to call me to Account for what I have said, I *will* prove that *she was a Whore.* The Brother, yet calm, but not quite *undisturbed* at this, stood up once more, and thus accosted *Mr. Griffith Jones. Sir*, Pray reflect now a little coolly what this *Passion* of *your's*, and your headstrong *Desire* of *Revenge* against *that young Man*, has brought upon *yourself* at last. My *Sister* lived and died with an *unspotted Character*, and without *so much* as a *Suspicion* of *Guilt* of *this Kind.* From whence, and from your positive Manner of charging her now, and from the *private* Nature of the *Crime* with which you charge her, it is very *easy* to *guess*, and very *obvious* to *conclude, Who made her a Whore*, if she was One.

" The Gentleman's Resentment prompted him to speak much *plainer Language* than I have here set down. Upon which the Parishioners burst out into a loud Laugh, which so confounded Mr. *Jones*, that he went out, I think without his *Hat*, and never more appeared at a *Parish Meeting* from that Time to the Time when the above mentioned *Brother* of the deceased Gentlewoman told me this Story."

This edifying story must surely have foundation; too many people were present to allow of complete fabrication. But after all, the stigma did not amount to much. What strikes the modern reader most, the indelicate expression used by Griffith Jones, appeared to his eighteenth century hearers simply as " childish language," which he was old enough to have grown out of—in fact, a piece of slang. In short, his opponent made an excellent debating point, and Griffith Jones a fool of himself through losing his temper.

The publication of the *Short Account* seems to have had a salutary effect on Griffith Jones; for in place of the fulminations of previous years, we find attempts at irony.

His opposers are now " left, I will not say to the Judgement, but to the Mercy of God, and the Correction of their own Consciences." And again in 1753–54, he asks, " Should the

Traveller be disturbed by the little *Animals* that bark at him in his Way, or stop to correct their Rudeness ? The Christian's Work will admit of no idle Remorras."

As will have been seen, one of the most serious charges brought against Griffith Jones was his encouragement of Methodism—to which colour was given by his friendship with Howel Harris. Although he was intensely loyal to the Church, yet he was too zealous to hold aloof from any who would help on the cause. In the words of the *Sketch* :—

" He was possessed of the Spirit of Candour and Love in a high Degree. Though as a Minister of the Church of *England*, He had a steady Attachment to her Communion, yet to Persons of a scrupulous and tender Conscience, dissenting from the Church, He left the Rights of private Judgment. Therefore he hesitated not to give the right Hand of Fellowship to all upright and pious Men of every Denomination, being fully sensible, that *all* the Godly are *one* in Christ."

Thus he obtained Churchmen as schoolmasters so far as he was able ; but he did not exclude suitable men because they were Dissenters. In any case, the charge of sympathy with Methodism will not appear very grave to the modern reader ; for the rest, it is obvious that John Evans, in spite of assiduous raking in the muck, was unable to find any serious offence in Griffith Jones. He had his failings ; but he was undoubtedly a man of lofty and spiritual character, who accomplished a great work—in the words of Lecky, " one of the very few important steps in religious education that were taken in the empire during the early Hanoverian period."

CHAPTER II

THE CIRCULATING SCHOOLS.

The importance of Griffith Jones is that he was the first Welshman to attempt on a large scale the rudimentary education of his fellow countrymen. His outlook was limited, and the instruction given in his schools was meagre; none the less, he was a pioneer in a work the results of which influence Wales to this day.

The Circulating Schools, although they marked a new departure, were the outcome of previous efforts to provide some education for the poor of Wales; but as these originated in England, they had only partial and short-lived effects. Thus the Commonwealth Government, by the Act for the Propagation of the Gospel (1649) included Wales in a national system of education; but the schools established in the following decade naturally came to an end at the Restoration. So, too, the movement organized by the Rev. Thomas Gouge* (1671–81) fell to pieces at his death; although it has been suggested† that this Welsh trust led to the inception of the Charity School movement and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. So far as Wales is concerned, the late Mr. Shankland has demonstrated the historical continuity of the Charity School movement with its predecessors in popular education; and since the Circulating Schools were in effect a modification of the Charity Schools, some brief account of these is necessary.

Owing to the influence of certain early members of the S.P.C.K.—Sir Humphrey Mackworth, and particularly Sir John Philipps‡—the work of that Society reached Wales within six months of its formation, on March 8th, 1698/9.

* Space does not permit an account of these two interesting experiments; particulars will be found in Richards, *The Puritan Movement in Wales*, and in Sir T. Phillips, *Wales* (pp. 255 sqq.). But our knowledge of both is far from complete.

† By the late Rev. Thomas Shankland in his most valuable article "Sir John Phillips and the Charity-School Movement in Wales" (*Trans. Cymmrodorion Soc.*, 1904–05).

‡ He was invited to become a member on April 5th, 1699.

The Principality was organized into districts, for each of which a corresponding member was appointed ; such members were Sir Humphrey Mackworth, John Vaughan of Derllys, John Jones (Dean of Bangor), Moses Williams, and Griffith Jones. Although the total number of schools founded is unknown, Mr. Shankland has found particulars of 124 ;* they were spread throughout Wales, though the greatest numbers were in the counties of Pembroke (31), Carmarthen (18), Monmouth (11), Glamorgan (10) ; one northern county, Denbigh, had 11. In their method of management and their curriculum they resembled the Charity Schools of England. Local subscriptions, in some cases " collected at the monthly Sacrament," were augmented from the funds of the Society. The children were as a rule " to be cloath'd, taught their Catechism & brought up in the principles of the Church of England, and the Boys taught to read, write and cast accounts, & the Girls to read, spin, and sew plain work."† A further aim was to apprentice them to some honest trade ; on this point there is an interesting suggestion by Sir John Philipps.

" That an agreeable Treatise upon Agriculture fitted to the capacity's of youth may 'tis hoped in some measure prevent the inconvenience of the Children being too much dispos'd of to the Mechanick's Trades."‡

The same gentleman, it may be added, extended the work of improvement to the upper classes :

" That he wishes there were a project for employing the Ladies in some charitable work, that the making of Caps, Kerchiefs, Aprons, Bands, and even Shifts and Shirts for the poor would administer truer comfort to them one day than all the pains and time they spend at their Surbels and Embroidery, that he is glad to, y^{t} he has for some time past taken off his Daughter from poring on her Tent to busy her every day in making some provision for the Charity children."§

After the Hanoverian succession, the masters, as in England, had to profess loyalty—" they and their Scholars

* *Op. cit.* Appendices II and III.

† This account of the school at Llanfyllin, Mont., may be taken as typical of all. (Abs. 7075 of S.P.C.K. letters ; *cit.* Shankland, *op. cit.*, p. 196.)

‡ Abs. 3149 (August 9th, 1712), *ibid.*, p. 189.

§ Abs. 2854 (October 20th, 1711).

pray daily for K. George & the Royal Family"*—for the movement, and indeed the Church, was suspected of Jacobite tendencies.

The Welsh schools had, however, certain problems either peculiar to themselves, or more accentuated than in England. The poverty of the country made attendance difficult. Dr. John Jones, Dean of Bangor, writing of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire in 1716, says :

" That it is impossible in those parts to fix the poor children constantly and regularly at School, because they must go ever and anon to beg for victuals, there being no poor rates settled in those parts. It is the constant method to relieve the poor at their doors, and the houses of the several Parishes being scattered about at considerable distances from each other increases the difficulty the poor Children labour under, & in harvest the poor parents take them out of School, and declare they had rather they should not be taught at all than be debarred of the use and service of them."†

In like manner, a writer from Pembrokeshire declares " that he found it difficult to perswade Parents to send their Children and keep them there. Their own want of Education making them stupid as to every consideration of y^{e} advantages of it in their children."‡ Again and again we find Griffith Jones confronted with the same difficulties ;§ they were indeed only partially overcome by the temporary nature of the Circulating Schools.

Wales further presented the very special complication of the language. The Charity Schools, like their predecessors, were in the main anglicizing ; thus Thomas Gouge, although circulating the Scriptures and Common Prayer in Welsh, was,

* Abs. 5198 (April 18th, 1717 ; Prendergast, Pemb.).
† Abs. 4840.
‡ Abs. 1734.
§ One example may be given, from *Welch Piety*, 1755–56 : " The number of *Schools & Scholars* for the last year much exceeded my Expectation, considering the great *Poverty* of labouring People, the Dearness, & Scarcity of Bread & Corn in many Parts of this Country, which some People could not find for Money, and others had no Money to buy it, having only very poor Rags for their Cloathing, too worthless to be taken in Pawn by any Body, for a Piece of Money to buy them a little Bread " ; and the pathetic statement that the schoolmaster at Llangeler " gave to one fatherless Boy, who was very Poor, some Books for nothing, and a Pair of Shoes and Stockings, with one Shirt."

somewhat paradoxically, concerned with " the teaching of poor Welsh children to read English."* But more than one Welshman saw the absurdity of trying to carry on instruction in a foreign tongue, as is proved by several letters from Denbighshire. Dr. Robert Wynne of Gresford writes that they " are consulting the education of poor Children a matter of much difficulty in those parts, no Welsh Schools being already Setled, w^{ch} language must be taught them, & Primers are ready to be printed for that purpose."† Again ,from the Rev. Thomas Williams of Denbigh, " That his design is to procure the erection of Welsh Schools, and to sett an example to others by Establishing one in his own Parish."‡ At Wrexham,

" The Rev. Mr. Price, Vicar thereof, pays 40*s.* p. ann. for a School-house, and gives a Master 10*l.* p. ann. and his dyet for teaching all such of his Parishioners as are willing to read and write Welch, & repeat their Cathechism, &c. He also finds 'em Books."§

On the other hand, there were those who preferred the English language. John Vaughan of Derllys, in spite of his activity in publishing Welsh translations and classics, proposes to Sir John Philipps‖ " that all Schools in the Kingdom be supply'd with an English expositor, in order to make Children understand what they read." The " expositor " is presumably a book—e.g., an exposition of the catechism ; and it is possible that in referring to " the Kingdom " he does not mean Wales. But there can be no doubt as to the following, written from the border village of Kerry (Mont.) :

" That he hopes 'ere another 12 months goes about something like a Charity-School may be sett up in his Parish. That he sh^{d} be glad to know what is y^{e} usual Salary to y^{e} Master of a Charity-School, and whether one may be obtained from London, because it will be difficult to get one in those parts that has a just and necessary knowledge in the English Tongue. That if the Society's Packets hereafter

* Stephen Hughes, however, understood the necessity of providing Welsh teaching (see Shankland, in *Beirniad*, 1912, p. 175).
† Abs. 116 (June 5th, 1700).
‡ S.P.C.K. Minutes, July 4th, 1706.
§ Abs. 4355 (1715).
‖ Abs. 1650 (May 28th, 1708).

consists of more English than Welch, he could dispose of them to more advantage because tho' many in his neighbourhood do talk yet few can read Welch."*

A similar proposal, made by Sir Humphrey Mackworth, is of particular interest, as showing that the idea of Circulating Schools did not originate with Griffith Jones. As no suitable schoolmaster could be found for Neath,

"He therefore submits it to the Society's consideration whether it may not be proper to pitch upon one of the best Schoolmasters in London to begin the Setting up of Schools in Wales, who may be a sort of Itinerant Master when he has sett up one School and brought up an Usher then to set up another."†

The suggestion was referred to the Committee, but was apparently not adopted.

It is thus abundantly evident that Griffith Jones was surrounded by Charity Schools. In each of the parishes of Laugharne and Llanddowror there was a school for twenty children; these were founded in 1708 and 1707 respectively. But it is not till 1731 that we find him suggesting what was to be one of the distinctive features of his Circulating Schools, viz., a Welsh school. On September 22nd, 1731, he writes:

"That it is a very sickly time near his neighbourhood where many die and many more are sick of a nervous kind of feavour. He thinks it a proper time to propose a Welch School at Landowror for all comers to learn to read & be supplied with Books and taught gratis, desiring of the Society 40 or 50 of the small Welch Bibles upon the usual kind terms that they favour their Members with & other Books, this would be great charity to our poor."

It is presumably to this school that John Evans refers when he mentions "Mr. *Jones's own School* at *Llandowror*, long before he set up any other."‡

There has been considerable controversy about the date of the first Circulating Schools. John Evans remarks "As their setting forth was thus *Clandestine*, we cannot trace the precise Date of their *Original*."§ Yet the title-page of the 1753

* Abs. 3091 (June 2nd, 1712).
† Abs. 6117 (September 17th, 1719).
‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 43.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

edition of *Welch Piety* is explicit enough : " A Collection of the Several Accounts of the Welch Charity Schools from their first rise in 1737." The Preface further states that " the first School was opened in the year 1737." It is plain that this means the first *Circulating* School ; there were doubtless several permanent Welsh Schools in or near Llanddowror between 1731 and 1737. It may well be conjectured that when the death of Sir John Philipps (January 5th, 1636/7) deprived Wales of her leader in the Charity School movement, Griffith Jones felt that the mantle had fallen upon him, and accordingly dated from that time the scheme that was essentially his own. Nevertheless, he felt that the work was continuous : he writes to Madam Bevan of " the encouragement and countenance that he [i.e., Sir John] gave the cause that I am resolved by the grace of God to continue embarked in, as long as I live."*

The origin of the Circulating Schools is described in a long " Letter to a Friend," by Griffith Jones, dated March 30th, 1738 :†

" The Occasion which (through the Grace of God) led gradually to the Thoughts of them, was a Catechising Exercise after the Second Lesson in Divine Service upon *Saturdays* before Sacrament *Sundays ;* when several Adult People, as well as the Children (particularly such as desired to partake of that Blessed Ordinance) were examined, not only in the Catechism, but also in a System of Divinity, and discoursed with in an easy, familiar, and very serious Way, about every Answer they made, explaining it clearly to their Understanding, and strongly applying to their Consciences : But the greatest Part of those who most wanted such kind of Instruction, and the Application of it, stood off : being old in Ignorance, they were ashamed to be thus taught and catechised publickly. . . . The first Attempt this Way was tried about seven or eight Years ago, with no other Fund‡ to defray the Expence of it, than what could be spared from other Occasions out of a small Offertory by a poor Country Congregation at the Blessed Sacrament ; which being laid out first to erect one, and then a little time afterwards two *Welch*

* Written on January 11th.

† In *Welch Piety*, 1740.

‡ Cf. *Welch Piety*, 1751–52 : the work was " begun with less than Forty Shillings." *Ibid.*, 1752–53, where a comparison is drawn with the similar small beginnings of Francke's charity at Halle.

Schools, answered so well, that this gave Encouragement to attempt setting up a few more : and Divine Providence was not wanting to bring in Benefactions to support them. It pleased GOD to increase their Success and Number all along to this Time ; insomuch that this last Winter and the present Spring, the Number of these Schools has amounted to *Seven and Thirty;* several of them having two, and some three Masters ; who are obliged to keep a methodical List of the Names, Places of Abode, Ages, Quality, Calling and Condition in the World, Dispositions and Manners, Progress in Learning, etc. of all the Men, Women, and Children that are taught by them. These Accounts are found very useful, but so voluminous, that I cannot (without more Pains and Time than I can spare at present) be exactly particular in the Number of Scholars. By the best Calculation on a transient View, the Number taught in these Schools, within the Counties of *Carmarthen, Pembroke, Brecon,* and *Cardigan,* since last September (inclusive of such as are now learning) makes at least *Two thousand four hundred.* Very few of these could say so much as the *Lord's Prayer* when they came first to School, and many of them could, in six or eight Weeks Time, not only read tolerably, but repeat by heart all the Church Catechism in their native *Welch* Language, and make pretty good Answers to plain and familiar questions concerning all the necessary Points of Faith and Practice in a System of Divinity, which the Masters are to instruct them in for some Hours every Day, about the Time of Morning and Evening Prayer."

The " circulating " nature of the schools is thus explained in the same letter :

" 'Tis commonly but for three or four Months that these Schools are continued in the same Place ; poor People cannot stay longer at one time from their Labour ; and sometimes they have the Schools again for so many Months afterwards in the following Year, to perfect what was deficient before ; this being thought the best Way, as also a sufficient Length of Time, for willing Learners to accomplish their Desires : And then the Schools are removed to other and distant Neighbourhoods, where they are most desired, and like to meet with the best Success. And whereas the Benefit of hired Servants, Day-labourers, and married Men and Women, as well as the younger Sort, is intended by them, 'tis found necessary to give them the Offer of these Schools, at such Times or Seasons of the Year as they can best spare from the greatest stress of their several Employments ; which in

almost all Places here is between *September* and *May*. The Inconveniency of the Days being then shorter than in Summer, is no Disadvantage to the Design ; for they commonly use to be together for four or five Hours in the Night ; and several Labourers, whom the pressing Necessities of their poor Families will not admit to attend the Schools by Day, do in some Places constantly resort to them by Night ; as a considerable Number of very poor (and lately very profane) People did in our *Welsh* City of St. *David's :* and Instances of this we have also in other Schools. Besides, Servants can more easily find Labourers to serve cheaper in their room while they are at School in the Winter than they could do at any other Season : And, when there is Encouragement or Opportunity for it, there are some few Schools continued for Part of the Summer."

English readers may find it difficult to believe that totally illiterate adults could learn to read in so short a time ; but it must be remembered that Welsh is regular and phonetic in spelling. And the obvious enthusiasm of the learners would insure their progress. The following passage suggests that the " Method " was crude :

" Some Schoolmasters have taught near *Forty* Scholars to read, and repeat the *Catechism* by Heart, in *Six Weeks*, who knew not the Letters, nor the *Lord's Prayer* before. Some young Men have learnt the Catechism in *Fifteen Days*. Many adult Persons, not less than *Thirty*, in one School, lately, have learned to read, by applying themselves to the Schoolmaster, in the Evenings, after the Labour of the Day was over. And I am credibly informed, that it has, in *England*, been found a good Method, to bring Children to read soon, without Hesitation, to have some Sentences first read by the Teacher, and then for the Scholars to read them ; and this to be repeated over and over again, till the Scholar reads them readily, and without Hesitation. It is for want of this most rational Practice, that many Children are long in learning to read readily, without Hesitation, and are therefore thought dull, when, in reality, it is not their Fault. I am also well assured, by a Letter from a truly venerable Correspondent, that, in *England*, a certain Gentlewoman, Mrs. —— *had Six and Twenty Children taught all at Five Years old to read in Three Months, by making them spell and read very slow and distinct, over and over again :* He adds, *the common Fault, is reading too fast.* I am, indeed, willing to grant, that all cannot learn so fast : but I hope it will be allowed, that they may be

taught much sooner than usual, as all the *Welch* Scholars are, where their Teachers are well chosen, and diligent in their Business, and carefully inspected by their Ministers."*

Nor was their duration strictly limited to one quarter :

" They continued for one, or two, or three quarters of a Year in a Place, according as they were more or less constantly attended by poor Scholars, and according as we thought the Schools were wanted, and well conducted. Left, indeed, they were, to continue for *a whole Year* in some places, rather than we would disoblige such good Clergymen and others, as very earnestly desired them so long."†

It was largely owing to the goodwill of the clergy that Griffith Jones was able to run the schools so cheaply. Again and again he tells his subscribers how far their money goes. " I have hardly received *twenty Shillings* towards the Schools, without having about half that Number of Scholars taught for it."‡ " The Generality of our People, both Adults and Children, are more successfully, and in a shorter time, and at much less Expense, instructed by this, than by any other Scheme or Method, we are yet acquainted with."§ They employ " no pompous or costly Building."§ " The circumstantial Expences in Building, &c., for only one charitable Nursery in some Places, or less than one half of such a Sum, would serve to instruct *Five Thousand* poor People, or more in this way."|| The following passage¶ is noteworthy :

" I am next to acquaint You with what (I doubt not) will be to the Satisfaction of all the worthy Encouragers of this good Work, that the Money received for its support is laid out directly upon the main and chief Design of it, avoiding, as much as may be, all Cost about lesser Conveniences, and such circumstantial Expences incident to some other Works of Charity, as Buildings, Salary to Clerks, and the like. The *Welch Schools* being to tarry only one Quarter, or Half a Year in a Place, or no longer than all the young and adult Persons, disposed to learn, have Time enough to obtain their Desires,

* *Welch Piety*, 1750–51.
† *Ibid.*, 1748–49.
‡ *Ibid.*, 1740–41. He estimates that 12,754 persons had been taught for £850.
§ *Ibid.*, 1748–49.
|| *Welch Piety*, 1754–55.
¶ *Ibid.*, letter dated August 16th, 1739.

and then to circulate or remove into other Neighbourhoods : in some Places the Favour is granted to have them taught in the Parish Church or Chapel ; sometimes well-disposed Persons lend a School-Room *gratis*, for the Time it is wanted ; and where we are obliged to hire a House, it is on moderate Terms ; for these Schools never intrude or force themselves, but are given where desired ; and therefore are generally very welcome and kindly received every where."

It is, however, hardly true that they were kindly received everywhere. Apart from the hostility of clergy like the Rev. John Evans, the Welsh were, according to Griffith Jones, " a Generation of People, besotted by Profaneness, and benighted in Ignorance,"* He suffered the enmity of " the wicked Fidlers and Harpers,"† who lost their Sunday employment owing to the Schools ; and we read of the master being " vilely and rudely treated "‡ at Denbigh. In parts of North Wales especially, where the opposition to Methodism was very strong, the schoolmasters were cruelly persecuted. The following passage,§ in spite of its length and its obvious bias, is worth quoting. It describes the adventures of Evan Williams, a Methodist exhorter, who was sent by Griffith Jones into Lleyn, Carnarvonshire, in February, 1742 :

" The 4th of March he set up the Welsh charity school, which was earnestly desired by some in those parts, and he kept it the 5th and 6th days of March ; but on the sixth day, towards night, two men came to the house where he was, and examined him very hard, why he came into that country, &c.— to whom he gave a proper answer, as that he was sent by Mr. Griffith Jones, a minister of the Church of England, to keep a charity school, and to bestow some good books among them for the good of their souls, &c. To this they answered that there was no need of any such thing, and that the Bible and the Common Prayer were enough to bring them to heaven ; desiring him also to come out of the house, as he had reason to think, in order to beat him, which he refusing, they stayed there, like hawks watching their prey, till it was far in the night ; but at last went away. The next day being the Lord's day he went to the parish church, where the parson

* *Ibid.*, 1745–46.
† *Ibid.*, 1740–41.
‡ *Ibid.*, 1746–47.
§ Quoted by Rees, *History of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, from Jones's *Life of Evan Williams*.

preached a railing sermon against him, and against the Dissenters and Methodists. When he had done, Mr. Williams came away, but as soon as he was come out of the consecrated ground, into the king's highway, lo! one of the parson's auditors, and perhaps one of his communicants, stript himself to the shirt, and beat our young man unmercifully with a stick, till he was tired, and wounded in his head; all the rest of these spectators, true sons of the church you may be sure, with a heathen or Jewish civility, laughing and triumphing at the young man's abuse, only for keeping a charity school for their poor children, to teach them to read the Bible, and other good books, in order to their salvation and happiness, at the cost of others. And their abusing him on the Lord's day, also, will be remembered by God and man, as a shameful aggravation of their brutal behaviour. Not one of them interposed, or desired the man to give over beating him till he was tired: and then no thanks to any of them for their civility. But attend to what follows! The young man, with a wounded head, went to his quarters, and about midnight some brethren came to inform him, that these sort of men intended to apprehend him next day, and therefore invited him with them that he might be safe from the searchers; and I think that he went with them to Tyddyn Mawr. Early on Monday, about thirty or forty of the persecutors gathered together to search for him with their staves, guns, and dogs, as if they would imitate the Jews who apprehended Jesus Christ in that manner. After they searched everywhere that they thought he might hide himself, and after they had horribly abused a young man whom they met with because he would not tell where the schoolmaster was, they came in the evening to a place called Bodfeiliog, near Tyddyn Mawr; while they stayed to refresh themselves after their vain labour, one brought word that they were near; whereupon the family persuaded him to hide himself. He was not willing, at first, to hide himself, but to let them act their will upon him; but the brethren overruled his plea, and he hid himself in a cupboard. At last they came to the house, and searched everywhere throughout the house, and about the house, using a horrible language as they went; till at last one of them, with his foot, struck the cupboard door where he was, saying, 'Perhaps he is here'; to which the others of them answered, by virtue of a wonderful overruling Providence, 'No! what should he do there?' or, 'It is not likely he should be there,' &c. After they went away, he consulted with his friends about returning to South Wales, seeing no likelihood of doing any good there; accordingly, about midnight, he set out to

begin the way home, and, having travelled about ten miles, the day dawned, and he rested in a friend's house the ninth day; the tenth, he set out from thence, and as they went through a certain village, he and the lad that came with him to show him the way, they met a woman carrying water, who, looking earnestly upon them, and suspecting what they were, went to the house, and lo! a man came out, and before they were two fields' length from the village the man cried 'Hubbub! thieves!—after them!' The Apostle Paul saith, in Phil. iii, 2, 'Beware of dogs': he means persecutors; because persecutors are like dogs. Let but one dog bark, and all the dogs in the village will bark after him: so here this fellow bawls out thieves, and out comes the vile, ungodly rout after him; yea, the country about the village rose to pursue after them, as dogs after a hare or sheep; which, when they saw they ran for their lives; but the pursuers soon caught his fellow-traveller, and dealt with him very unmercifully. However, Mr. Williams very prudently slipt off his shoes, and outran them all, till he even lost sight of them; being a well-made man, and swift of foot, he escaped the brutish rage of this mad crew, as the hare sometimes escapeth from the huntsmen; or, as some strong sheep, as I have sometimes seen, will out run some dogs. After he had run about five miles, he came to a steep, rocky wood, by a river side, and there hid himself, to stay till the tide should go out of the river, which his friends, in the morning, thought would be about two o'clock in the afternoon.

"There he could see the people coming from the market at Pwllheli, both on horseback and on foot, without being seen by them in that unsuspected place; yet in fear, like a fugitive in Turkey itself. In such straits an honest and well-designing Protestant was, in a Protestant country, and which will be remembered to their shame and lasting reproach. Well, after he had stayed there awhile, till the people had slackened coming from market, he came out of the wood towards the riverside, which was very high, and seeing a little boy the other side of it he asked him could he come through it? 'No,' said the boy, 'no horses can pass it.' This was sad news for a man in such danger as he was, and besides, also, it was now very late in the evening, so that he knew not what to do; but at last he ventured, in the name of God, to pass the river, come what would of it, rather than stay among such dangerous, inhospitable men; and in he went, but found the water to rise above him dreadfully as he went on, until at last he was about as high as his shoulders in it; so that he began to fear either to be overset by it, or that it would come

over his head ; but, through the power and mercy of God, he passed the river. But no sooner was he over, but his fears were renewed by seeing two men galloping towards him from the town ; for when a man is once frightened to purpose, he suspects everything he sees to be against him. When he saw them he told the lad, ' If these men ask thee where I go, tell them I am going to yonder sheep,' and so made as if he went to look to the sheep. On he came till it was near night, and then must be out all night, both wet to the skin and in frosty weather, or else seek a lodging, and so did in one or two places, but was denied. However, with much ado, he had some sort of lodging in one house ; for in this part of the country they were not yet alarmed against him, else, in all likelihood, he would have been abused here also. The next day he put on his wet clothes, and travelled through Merionethshire, until he came to South Wales, and from thence home ; when he gave an acccount of his journey to the Rev. Mr. Jones, of Llanddowror, who had sent him to North Wales. These abuses, which our deceased friend had from them, were but a few of the mad pranks which these Church of England men, set on, as some say, by their leaders, the clergy (and who doubt it ?), exercised towards other religious people ; for they stoned them as they went towards the meeting house at Pwllheli, and as they came back ; so that some were bruised and wounded, and some swooned, and lay senseless for a time. They would also come about the meeting house, break the windows to pieces, and throw stones upon the tiles and into the house during prayer and sermon time ; and some of them would come into the house, and sneer, mock, and laugh at the minister and people ; sometimes also contradicting the minister while he preached, saying, ' That is a lie, hold thy peace, devil!' and swearing, cursing, hallooing, shouting, and blaspheming, as if they had broken out of *Bedlam* or *Hell*. Also pricking the people with pins or needles, to make them cry out.

" And those who were cited into the Bishop's Court were there so abused by pulling them by their hair, snubbing their chins, tossing them from one to another, pricking them with pins, needles, awls, &c., so that they were both in fear and danger of their lives. Reader! what thinkest thou now of these people ? Would not Turkism or Heathenism rather become these people than the holy religion of Protestants ?"

Beside such active persecution the invectives of John Evans appear mild. At any rate, this rough handling destroyed Evan Williams's health, so that (to quote Thomas Rees) " this

seraphic young man died August 19th, 1748, in the 29th year of his age."

It is perhaps only fair to give the views of the other side. John Evans quotes* the following letter to Griffith Jones, from eleven clergy of Carnarvonshire, headed by the Chancellor of Bangor :

" Lynn, in Carnarvonshire, July 2, 1743.

Reverend Sir,

Your *Welch* Charity Schools, in their great Progress, have unhappily reached this Corner of *Carnarvonshire*.—We say unhappily, as their Effects here are apparently so, in disturbing the Consciences of poor weak People, almost to Distraction, thro' the *Ignorance*, to say no worse, of *your School-Masters*, wresting the Scriptures to the Confusion of their Hearers, and perhaps their own. This Assertion will be made clear from the following Facts.

These *South Wales, Enthusiastick Itinerants* pretend to be *Church of* England *People*, and come to Church ; but at Nights they creep into such Houses, as they are able to work to themselves a Way to, and there *delude* ignoranr Men, and lead Captive silly Women and Children, by *despising* the *Clergy*, and *accusing* them of *not preaching the Truth of the Gospel ;* assuring their Hearers that We are all *Dumb Dogs, Blind Guides, False Prophets, Hirelings ;* that we *lye* in our Pulpits.—But that *they*, and *none others*, are the *Elect*, the *Chosen of God*, the *Predestinated*, the *Regenerated*—that they *cannot Sin* in their *Regenerate State ;* that *They only* are the *true Ministers* of *Christ*.—They promise Heaven to their Followers : and, as if the Keys of Heaven were intrusted to them alone, they DAMN all others, in order to terrify the *Illiterate* into their *Faction*.—They assure them that their *Fathers* and *Grand-Fathers* are in Hell ; and that they see the *visible Marks* of DAMNATION in the *Faces* of such as *will not* become *Methodists*.—And, to alienate the Affections of weak People yet further from the *Established Church*, they maintain, that our most excellent *Liturgy* is a *dead Letter ;* a *Heap of Popish Rubbish, composed by Devils.*"†

* *Welsh Charity Schools*, p. 86.

† The anger of these clergy was roused by the Methodism of the master rather than by the schools ; yet they might reasonably have distinguished between the two. Contrast the tolerance shown by another Churchman, William Morris, who asks " What matters it who drives ahead the good work, whether it be Turk or freckled Jew, Pagan or Methodist." (Letter to Richard Morris, April 27th, 1752 ; quoted by Saunders Lewis, *A School of Welsh Augustans*, p. 26.)

In face of such opposition it was necessary for the schoolmasters to be very circumspect. It is evident that there was some difficulty in finding suitable men, and that those appointed were not always satisfactory. Griffith Jones writes of

" such Persons as sometimes injudiciously recommend Masters to teach these Charity Schools in their own Parishes, when their Characters, upon further Enquiry, are found not to answer. It is difficult to encourage such as these ; It cannot be with the Grain of a good Conscience, to employ immoral Persons to teach poor People Religion. I cannot, and dare not prostitute any Part of the Charity of good People in this manner."*

But he begs " that the Reporters of any Misdemeanour or Misbehaviour in these little charitable Seminaries, be desired to particularize in Writing, *what*, *when*, and *where* the Misdemeanour was ; that if the Information be true, the Fault may be corrected immediately ; and if not, that there may be Room to defend a good Cause, or any Person concerned in it, from suffering wrongfully."†

That religious devotion rather than scholarship was the chief qualification is shown by this passage :

" All possible Care is taken, that none be employed as *Masters* or *Mistresses* in the *Schools*, but such as are not only tolerably well qualified to teach to Read, but such as appear to have more of a Religious Impression upon their Minds than is common ; and whoever of them discovers a contrary Disposition (as two only, I think, have done this Year) they are to be discharged immediately. Many of the *Masters* now are such as have themselves been taught in these *Schools*."‡

It is certain that Griffith Jones gave his masters some sort of training ; but the only account of it that I have been able to find is a spiteful sentence by John Evans :§

" Mr. *Jones* having, from first to last, employed some scores of these *Runaway Servants and Apprentices*, in keeping his *Schools*, or carrying his *Books* after the *Methodist Preachers* about the Country, had bethought himself of *rewarding* their *Services* with *Holy Orders* in the *Church of England ;* to qualify

* *Welch Piety*, 1745–46.
† *Welch Piety*, 1747–48.
‡ *Letter to a Friend*, August 16th, 1739. Schoolmistresses are mentioned occasionally in *Welch Piety*.
§ *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

them for which, He set up a kind of *Dutch Academy* in the Village of *Llandowror*, where he had taken several Houses into his Hands, many Years before, for the Reception and Entertainment of his *Travelling Communicants*. Here they were taught a *Hoggan-Moggan Religion* out of *His Welch Catechism, His Platform of Christianity*, one *Flavel, Greenwood*, and *Baxter's* Works."

" Dutch " is perhaps a sneer at Griffith Jones's sympathy with the pietism of Francke. For the rest, it is at any rate true that there was a training-school at Llanddowror. A cottage, evidently the remains of a larger building, still bears the name " Yr hen Goleg " (the old College) ; and another house, now demolished, was called " Plas y Bechgyn " (the Boys' House).*

The rules for the conduct of the Circulating Schools forbade any such controversy as that mentioned by the Carnarvonshire clergy. Though rambling and verbose, they contain very strict injunctions about regularity and good order ; and they carry a sting in their tail. They are preceded by an open letter which had to be presented by the schoolmaster before he could begin work in any district. As the Rules are not included in any of the books on Griffith Jones, they are here printed in full, together with a translation in which I try to preserve the unsophisticated style of the original.†

RHEOLAU YR YSGOLION CYMRAEG. A LLYTHYR AT BAWB Y FO YN TRIGO'N AGOS IDDUNT.

Gwybydded pob un o'r Ysgolfeistred, eu bod tan *Orchymmyn caeth a Rhwymedigaeth*, na chynnygiont gadw Ysgol, heb ddwyn y *Llythyr hwn*, a'r *Rheolau canlynol*, gyd a hwynt yn feunyddiol, ac i'w dangos i bawb oddi amgylch yr Ysgolion ag y ddêl o hyd iddunt : fel y gallo'r cyfryw *wybod a thystiolaethu*, pa un a fyddont hwy (sef, yr Ysgolfeistred) yn cadw'r *Rheolau hyn* yn ddidwyll ; a'u dwyn ganddunt yn ôl, yn nïwedd y Cwarter, gyd ag Enwau'r, *Gwŷr cyfrifol* a'u darllenasant ; fel, o's bydd achos, y gellir ymofyn â hwynt ynghylch Ymddygiad y Meistred.

* This information was kindly supplied by the Rev. Canon Rees, Rector of Llanddowror.

† The " Rules " are bound up in one volume of *Welch Piety* at Cardiff Free Library. My colleague, Mr. Saunders Lewis, has kindly revised this translation, and given much other valuable help.

Llythyr at Bawb a Drigant Yn Agos I'r Ysgolion Cymraeg.

Fe ddymunir yn ostyngedig ar bawb a garant DDUW, ac a ewyllysiant yn dda i Lwyddiant *Crefydd*, a Llesiant ysbrydol *Pobloedd anwybodus*, i ymweled yn fynych â'r *Ysgolion Cymraeg* a fyddo'n agos iddunt, i fynnu gwybod, *pa fodd y maent yn cael eu trefnu; pa fath yw Dyfalwch ac Ymddygiad y Meistred; pa Gynnudd o Wybodaeth, ac Argoelion gobeithiol o Râs, sydd yn y 'Sgolheigion;* ac i gyfarwyddo ac annog y Meistred a'r 'Sgolheigion i roddi cwbl Ddïwydrwydd yn y Gwaith y maent yn ei gylch. Gan mai *drygioni 'sgeler* fyddai, i ddynion anffyddlon gamarferyd a wastio Elusen a roddir er *Ffynniant Crefydd*, a *Lles Eneidiau;* ac na bydd y neb a gelo arnunt yn *gwbl ddieuog;* mi a attolygaf, gan hynny, ar bawb a wyddo am danunt, i anfon attaf, yn 'sgrifennedig, am yr Ysgolion a fo'n agos iddunt, mor neillduol ag a allont, ynghylch pob peth a berthyn iddunt; yn enwëdigol, *pa un a fyddont yn llwyddo; a pha un a fyddo'r Meistred yn ddïwyd, yn ffyddlon, ac yn gwneuthur yn ôl y Rheolau:* fel y byddo i'r *Elusenwaith hwn* gael ei ddwyn yn y blaen (*er Gogoniant i Dduw, a Chynnudd Duwioldeb*) yn y modd mwyaf llwyddiannus a difeius ag a ellir. Y rhai, o serch ac ewyllys da i *Achos Duw*, a ganiatâant y Gymmwynas caredigol hwn, ni fyddant heb eu Gwobrau gan *Awdwr* pob Trugaredd; a bydd iddunt fawr Ddiolch gan

Eu gostyngeiddiaf Wasanaethwr,

G. Jones.

Llanddowror,
Chwef. 18, 1744/5.

Rheolau yr Ysgolion Cymraeg: Sef,

Bod i'r Meistred fod yn sobr, yn caru Duwioldeb, yn Aelodau o Eglwys *Loegr*, yn ffyddlon i'r Brenin a'r Llywodraeth, ac yn rhai a fo'n ymroddi i fod yn ddidwyll ynghylch eu Gwaith: heb rodienna'n afreidiol ac yn segur oddi amgylch; nac ymryson ynghylch Pyngciau dadleugar mewn Crefydd, na dilyn neb rhyw arferion gwrthwyneb i Air DUW, i Gyfraith y Tir, neu Drefn yr Eglwys, nac ymyrru yn ôl unrhyw beth ni pherthyn i'w Galwãd; eithr cadw yn fanol ac yn onest y *Rheolau canlynol.*

1. Bod i'r Meistred, heb law dysgu eu 'Sgolheigion i 'sbelian, a darllain y cyfryw Llyfrau ag y bwyntier iddunt, eu dysgu hwynt hefyd, a'u holi yn ofalus, *ddwywaith bob dydd*, yng *Nghatecism yr Eglwys*, ac yn yr Ystyr o hono allan o'r

Esboniad printiedig ag sydd i'w arferyd yn yr Ysgolion ; a rhoddi rhyw ychydig Byngciau o hono, bob nôs, i'r 'Sgolheigion i ddisgu ar eu côf erbyn drannoeth ; gan eu cyfarwyddo i ddyall yr Ystyr a'r Arwyddocaad o hono cyn belled ag y medront ; ac i hyfforddi'r 'Sgolheigion i *atteb yr Offeiriad yn fedrus, yn barchus, ac yn ddefosiynol, yng Ngwasanaeth yr Eglwys*, allan o'r *Gweddiau Cyffredin* a wneir wrth y *Catecism ;* a bod iddunt, cyn gynted ac mor fynych ag a allont, i'w dwyn i *ddywedud eu Catecism* wrth Weinidog y Plwyf.

2. Bod i'r Meistred a'r 'Sgolheigion edrych am ddyfod yn forau i'r Ysgol bob dydd, a pharhau yn ddiesgeulus hyd yr hwyr, a dyfod yn gysson i'r *Addoliad cyhoeddus bob Sabbath ;* ac i'r Meistred, bob *Dydd Llun*, holi'r 'Sgolheigion ynghylch y *Pennodau, a Thestyn, a Phennau'r Bregeth* a glywsant yn yr Eglwys y Dydd o'r blaen ; ac ymosod yn barchedig ac yn ddiysgafnder i *ganu Salm, a gweddio Duw*, ynghŷd yn yr Ysgol, bob borau a hwyr ; gan weddio beunydd dros *Gynhysgaeddwyr elusengar* yr *Ysgolion hyn*, ac am *Fendith* DUW ar y rhai a *ddysgir ynthunt :* a bod i'r Meistred rybuddio eu 'Sgolheigion yn ddyfal yn erbyn pob drwg arferion : megis Tyngu a Rhegu, camarferiad o Enw DUW, halogi'r Sabbath, dywedud Anwiredd, a'r cyffelyb ; a'u hannog i ochelyd cyfeillach dynion llygredig, a gwâg ddifyrrwch pechadurus y byd ; ac i droi at DDUW, trwy Fydd yng NGHRIST, oddi wrth bob anwiredd ac ofer ymarweddiad ; gan ymddwyn eu hunain yn gariadol, yn barchus, yn ostyngedig, ac yn addfwyn, tu ag at bob dŷn : yn ddïwyd ac yn ffyddlon yn eu Gwaith, a'u Negesau, a Dyledswyddau eu Lleoedd ; yn enwedigol, i Blant uffuddhâu, a pharchu, a mawrhâu, eu Rhieni ; ac i Wasanaethwyr fod yn ufudd, yn ofalus, ac yn ffyddlon, yng ngwaith ac achos eu Meistred ; Ac iddunt weddio DUW beunydd, wrthunt eu hunain yn y dirgel, am Râs DUW i'w cymmorth ym mhob peth ; gan ymegnio hefyd, hyd eithaf ag a allont, mewn Addfwynder a Doethineb, i osod i fynu *Addoliad* DUW yn y Teuluoedd lle byddont.

3. Bod i'r Meistred gadw a rhoi i mewn, ym mhen eu Cwarterau, neu cyn pen Mis ar ôl hynny o'r hwyaf, Gyfrif cywir o'u 'Sgolheigion, eu Henwau, eu Hoedran, y Llyfrau y maent yn eu darllain, a'r Amser (sef, Rhifedi y Misoedd a'r Wythnosau) y bu pob Ysgolhaig yn yr Ysgol ; a pha gymmaint o *Esboniad y Catecism* a ddysgasant ; ynghyd ag Enw'r Lle, y Plwyf, a'r Sir, lle'r oedd hi ; pa bryd y dechreuodd ac y diweddodd yr Ysgol ; gyd ag Enw y Meistr ; wedi ei sertiffeio gan Weinidog y Plwyf, neu o'r hyn leiaf gan y Golygwyr a fo'n edrych atti, a'r cyfryw rai eraill a fo yn wir onest, cymmeradwy, ac adnabyddus yn y gymmydogaeth.

Dan Ammod i'r Ysgolfeistred ddilyn y *Rheolau hyn* yn ofalus a'u cyflawni'n onest, yr addewir iddunt y Cyflogau a arferir i dalu, yn ôl nifer y 'Sgolheigion, a'r amser y bônt yn yr Ysgol. Ac, am hynny, y Meistred, ag y ddodir yn y Gwaith hwn, a ddylent edrych am fod yn ddiesgeulus ac yn rheolus yntho ; rhag syrthio dan euogrwydd na's gallont atteb o'i blegid ger bron DUW ; a, chyd â hynny, iddunt fod yn ddidaliad.

DIWEDD.

RULES OF THE WELSH SCHOOLS. AND A LETTER TO EVERYONE DWELLING NEAR THEM.

Be it known that each of the Schoolmasters is under strict order and obligation not to attempt to keep school without bringing this letter and the rules following with them daily, and showing them to everyone in the neighbourhood of the schools and who may come across them ; so that such may be able to know and bear witness how each of them (i.e., the Schoolmasters) keep these rules faithfully ; and that they bring them back, at the end of the quarter, with the names of responsible persons who have read them ; so that, if need be, inquiry can be made of them concerning the conduct of the masters.

LETTER TO ALL WHO LIVE NEAR THE WELSH SCHOOLS.

All who love God and wish well to the success of the Faith & the spiritual welfare of ignorant people, are humbly intreated to visit often the Welsh Schools that are near them, to get to know how they are conducted, what is the diligence & behaviour of the masters, what increase of knowledge and hopeful signs of grace are shown by the scholars ; and to guide & exhort the masters and scholars to give all diligence to their work. Since it would be dreadful wickedness for unfaithful men to abuse & waste the charity that is given for the success of the Faith & the benefit of souls ; and so that none be entirely blameless in the matter, I therefore beg everyone who knows about them, to send me in writing an account of the Schools in his neighbourhood, as detailed as possible, about everything belonging to them ; particularly whether they are successful ; and whether the Masters are diligent, faithful, and obedient to the Rules ; so that this Charity may continue (to the glory of God and the increase of Godliness) in the most successful and blameless manner

possible. And they, who from love and good will to God's cause, will do this kindness, shall not be without their reward from the Author of all mercies ; and they shall have great thanks from

Their most humble servant

G. Jones.

Llanddowror,

Feb., 18, 1744/5.

Rules of the Welsh Schools : viz.

The masters must be sober, God-fearing, members of the Church of England, loyal to the King and the Government, and such as devote themselves sincerely to their work ; not strolling about needlessly and idling about the place ; not contending about controversial questions of Religion, nor following any customs opposed to the Word of God, the Law of the Land, or the order of the Church, nor interfering in anything unconnected with their calling ; but keeping the following rules exactly & honestly.

1. That the masters, besides teaching their scholars to spell, and read such books as are appointed them, should teach them also, and question them carefully, twice every day, in the Church Catechism, and in its meaning as given in the printed commentary which is in use in the schools ; and should give a few passages from it, every night, to the scholars to learn by heart for the next day ; helping them to understand the meaning and significance of it as far as they can, and to train the scholars to make the responses to the minister carefully, reverently, and devotionally, in the Church service, from the Common Prayer at the Catechism, that they may as early and as often as possible come to say their Catechism to the minister of the parish.

2. That the masters & scholars should take care to come early to school every day, and continue diligently till evening, and come constantly to public worship every Sabbath. And the masters should question the scholars every Monday about the Chapters, the text, and the headings of the sermon which they heard in church the day before, and set themselves reverently and seriously to sing a psalm, and pray to God, together in school, every morning and evening. They should pray daily for the charitable subscribers to these schools, and for the blessing of God on those who are taught in them. The masters should warn their scholars earnestly against all bad habits, such as swearing and cursing, taking the name of God in vain, breaking the Sabbath, telling lies, and the like ;

and should exhort them to shun the company of wicked men, and the vain sinful pleasures of the world, and to turn to God, through faith in Christ, from all false and vain conduct. They should behave themselves charitably, reverently, humbly, and meekly towards all men ; they should be industrious and faithful in their work, and in the errands and duties of their situations. In particular, the children should reverence, obey, and honour their parents ; servants should be obedient, industrious, and faithful in the work and cause of their masters; and they should pray God every day, by themselves in private, for the grace of God to help them in everything, exerting themselves also as far as possible in meekness and wisdom, to exalt the worship of God in the families where they live.

3. The masters should keep and give in at the end of their quarter, or before the end of the following month at latest, a correct register of their scholars, their names, ages, the books they are reading, and the time (i.e. the number of months and weeks) each scholar has spent in the school ; how much of the Exposition of the Catechism they have learnt ; as well as the name of the place, the parish & county, where the schools were ; when the school began & ended, with the master's name. The master should obtain a certificate* from the minister of the parish, or at any rate from the supervisors of the school, and such others as are truly honest, approved, and well-known in the neighbourhood. Provided that the schoolmasters follow these Rules exactly, and carry them out honestly, they are promised the customary wages, according to the number of scholars and the time they have been in school. And, therefore, the masters who come into this work should see that they are diligent & regular, that they may not fall into guilt and so be unable to answer before God, and, moreover, be paid no wages.

THE END.

It is thus evident that " these glorious Nurseries," " these humble Christian Nurseries of Catechetical Instruction," " these little low Seminaries,"† did not attempt anything in the way of secular education. The following passage‡ is quite explicit :

" Neither the Poor nor any others, are, at all, to be taught *Writing* or *Cyphering* in these Schools, that the Masters may

* We learn from *Welch Piety* (1751–52) that some of these certificates were " but indifferently penned."

† These and such-like names occur frequently in *Welch Piety*.

‡ *Ibid.* (1749–50).

exert *all* their Endeavours, and lay out *all* their Time, and *all* their *Pains*, to instruct them in the Catechism . . . for as they are, for the most Part, very Poor, they cannot afford to stay long in School : and besides, it is by no Means the Design of this spiritual kind of Charity, to make them *Gentlemen*, but *Christians*, and *Heirs* of eternal Life. It is therefore the indispensable Business of the Masters, to instil into them all possible Instructions necessary to this End ; not to elate their Minds, but to make them, by the Grace of God, good Men in this World, and happy in the next."

" Not Gentlemen, but Christians "—the antithesis sums up the whole Charity School movement.

Such an aim was indeed accepted as normal by the Adult Schools of a later generation. It is true that in the first Adult School at Nottingham (1798), the " secular arts " of writing and cyphering were taught ; but the Rules of the Bristol schools state :

" That the great object of this Society be to teach persons to read the Holy Scriptures. . . . That the learners be considered as having obtained the object of this Society, when they can read distinctly and readily in the Bible ; and shall then be dismissed."*

The equipment of the Welsh Schools must have been very meagre. We have seen the efforts made by Griffith Jones to obtain impressions of the Welsh Bible and other religious books. Writing in 1811 of his own schools, Thomas Charles remarks :

" The next difficulty was, to obtain proper elementary books. In this point, Mr. Jones's schools were very deficient, as the books used in his schools were little better than the English battledores, and very ill calculated to forward the children in their learning."

But however slight the education given, it was what the people wanted ; and the schools were accordingly well attended. The following table is taken from the first *Welch Piety* published after the death of Griffith Jones (1761) :—

" The Number of *Welch* Charity Schools and Scholars for Twenty-five Years' past.

In the Year	Schools.	Scholars.
1737 ..	37 ..	2,400
1738 ..	71 ..	3,981

* Pole : *History of Adult Schools*, 1814.

In the Year.	Schools.	Scholars.
1739	71	3,989
1740	150	8,767
1741	128	7,995
1742	89	5,123
1743	75	4,881
1744	74	4,253
1745	120	5,843
1746	116	5,635
1747	110	5,633
1748	136	6,223
1749	142	6,543
1750	130	6,244
1751	129	5,669
1752	130	5,724
1753	134	5,118
1754	149	6,018
1755	163	7,015
1756	172	7,063
1757	220	9,037
1758	218	9,834
1759	106	8,539
1760	115	8,687
1761	210	8,023
Total	3,495	158,237 "

Although the rules for registration were carefully laid down, these figures must be received with caution. We read more than once of the irregular attendance of the children ; but " these Inconveniencies can't be removed," since the children were kept at home to work in the harvest field. The number of adults is harder to estimate. In an early report it is stated that

" Most of the masters instructed, for three or four hours in the night or evening after School time, about twice or thrice as many as they had in their Schools by day, who could not attend at other times ; which are not included in the number above."*

* Cf. " In most of the *Schools*, the adult Persons do make about Two Thirds of the Number taught in them." (*Letter to a Friend*, August 16th, 1739.) The Letter goes on to say that the annual statistics are of " Men, Women, and Children (being ignorant of the English Tongue) [who] are taught to read God's Holy Word in their Native British Language, Catechised," etc.

From one passage it would appear that the total numbers given in the annual reports include the adults ; indeed, if it were not so, it would mean that some 300,000 adults passed through the Schools in the years 1737–61—a figure which is quite incredible.

But leaving the comparatively unimportant question of numbers, we have abundant evidence of Griffith Jones's zeal for his adult countrymen, after the " melancholy discovery of their brutish, gross, and general ignorance in things pertaining to salvation." There is space for only one or two extracts ; the first is of special interest as showing how the work spread beyond the limits of the Schools :

" In these truly Christian schools were taught, persons that were some fifty, some sixty years of age ; who, had they not been instructed in the principles of the gospel *here*, would, in all probability, have perished in their ignorance!—Nor are we to bury in oblivion those young persons who, being instructed in these nurseries of piety, went home, and kindly instructed their parents ; expressing at the same time, their astonishment at their ignorance and stupidity. Well then may *Cambria* exult in the LORD, in these golden days of the gospel which she has been so highly favor'd with, and say, *' Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis.'* "

The next two passages illustrate the naive wonder then felt at people learning to read with spectacles* :

" Some may think that we have nothing to do, except trying to instruct the growing Generation only, & that, as to more elderly People, hardened & grown old in Ignorance, they seem past reclaiming ; we may therefore let *them* alone, to pass out of the World in their Sin & Ignorance, because all our Endeavours to reform these (we think) w^{d} be in vain. A most inhuman, most shocking, & barbarous conclusion this! What? to leave them unpitied in the bloody Hands of the cruel Murderer ; to let them rush on blindfold over the Brink to Perdition, without attempting to rescue them! . . ."

* Cf. the verses quoted in Winks, *History of Adult Schools*, 1821 (in Currie Martin's *History of the Adult School Movement*).

While numbers never taught in youth
In gladness now the word of Truth
Read with facility :
Old Age in spectacles appears,
Bending, beneath its weight of years,
To learn the A.B.C.

[Besides, he adds, it has been successfully attempted. . . .] "It has been taken Notice of more than once, that *many* above *Fifty*, and *some* above *Sixty*, and even *Seventy* Years of Age, have, in some Places, attended these Schools, & learned to Read with their Spectacles on."*

The next is taken from a letter by the Rev. Ben Morgans, Vicar of Trelech :†

"In a short Time after the School was opened, I went to visit it, & was agreeably surprised to see there an *Old Man* seventy-one Years of Age, with his Spectacles on his Nose, & the Church Catechism in his Hand, with five other poor People far advanced in Years, who came there with their little Children to be taught to read the Word of God. Some of them were beginning in the A, B, C, others could read a little. Though these poor People were very desirous to learn to read the holy Scriptures, yet it w^d have been impossible for them to spare so much Time from their daily Labour, for the Support of themselves, their Wives & Children, if some of my charitable Parisioners did not very freely agree to give these very poor People their daily Wages, & even more than they could earn by their Labour, for the Maintenance of themselves & Families for the Time they w^d be in the *Welch* School. . . . The Tears trickling down from their Eyes, when they saw that the little Children had gained more knowledge in three Months at the *Welch* School, than many of them had acquired in hearing Sermons for fifty or threescore Years."

This provision for the teaching of adults was one of the two important changes introduced by Griffith Jones into the work of the Charity Schools. It was continued by Thomas Charles, who set up a fresh system of Circulating Schools in 1785, when (after the death of Mrs. Bevan) the earlier schools had come to an end through lack of funds. As Charles was born and brought up in the neighbourhood of Llanddowror,‡ we may regard his work, including the Welsh Sunday Schools, that flourish vigorously to the present day, as directly descended from this innovation by Griffith Jones.

* *Welch Piety*, 1752–53.

† *Ibid.*, 1753–54. Most members of *Welch Piety* contain letters from the clergy about the schools. There is also a letter, to the same effect, from ten inhabitants of Trelech.

‡ The Vicar of Mydrim and Llanfihangel Abercowyn writes (March 11th, 1771) : "The two parishes of which I am Vicar, have been so happy as to have had one of these Schools, alternately, for above *twenty* years past. The same Master, *Lewis Thomas*, has all that Time had the Management of them" (*Welch Piety*).

The same perpetuity attended his introduction of Welsh. His movement succeeded because for the first time people were enabled to read their own language. And although Griffith Jones's interest was ostensibly in their salvation alone, yet he constantly betrays his genuine passion for the language itself. It is idle for him to write that he is not "concerned what becomes of the language abstractedly considered; nor design to say anything merely to aggrandise or advance its repute. The thing to be cleared up is, whether the chief and greatest end of all, viz., the glory of God, the interest of religion, and the salvation of the poor Welsh people, is most likely to be promoted by continuing or abolishing it." For again and again he "aggrandizes" his native language. "You know, Sir," (he writes in 1745),

"I was born a Welshman, and have not unlearned the simple honesty and unpoliteness of my mother tongue; nor acquired the oiliness of the English language, which is now refined to such a degree, that a great part of it is near akin to flattery and dissimulation."

His arguments in favour of Welsh, some sound enough, others fantastical, are scattered through *Welch Piety:* but most of them are to be found in his third "Letter to a Friend" (October 11th, 1739):

"As all Things we have considered thus far in relation to our *Language* cannot be brought to give their Suffrage for abolishing of it, I trust nothing is to be found in its own Nature whereby it can deserve the Sentence of Death. Some indeed have complained of its being harsh and rough, or unpleasant, as having a Conflux of many Consonants in some Words: But this is owing to their Ignorance of its Beauty; for this makes it more full, stately, and masculine. Every Tongue will seem unpleasant Gibberish to such as know it not. Some have thought it hard to learn, and difficult to pronounce; It may be so to such as have no great Mind to learn it: others, by proper Application, became great Proficients in the knowledge of it in a short time. Its *Grammar Rules* are easy, exact, and less in Number than are incident to many other Languages; the Pronouncing of it is not more difficult than that of the *Sacred Oriental Languages*, particularly the *Hebrew*, to which it is merely related, as appears by the guttural Pronounciation of many Words in both, by the Suitableness of the *Hebrew Letters* to express our *Words* better than our own *borrowed Characters;* being obliged to use two of these to

form the proper Sound of some Syllables, whereas one of the *Hebrew Letters* would do better; and also by the similar *Idioms* of both *Languages*, very different from all other *Tongues* in *Europe;* but most of all by a great many *Words* of the same *Sound* and *Sense* in both *Languages*. . . ."

Welsh indeed is very like Hebrew, as would be more evident if it were written in Hebrew characters !

" The *British Language* may be fairly supposed to be one of those which sprung out of the *Hebrew* at the Tower of *Babel;* consequently may be said to have GOD Himself for the immediate Author of it : And, as it began at the Confusion of Tongues, will, perhaps, be hardly utterly destroyed till the Dissolution of the World, and the End of Time. . . .

" Some would fain charge it with a Mixture of borrowed & foreign Words; whereby they very much betray their Ignorance; For it is very well known to better Judges, that the *Welsh Language* is more full, copious, primitive, independent, & free from exotick Words, than any modern Tongue at this Day in *Europe*. It has no Need to borrow of any, but has lent to many Nations. Linguists & Antiquarians have set this in so clear a Light, that the Learned cannot object to it. PEZRON, and the *Author* of *Archæologia Britannica*, have produced Instances more than enough of great Numbers of Words in the *Latin*, *Greek*, and other *Languages*, derived from the *British;* giving at the same time convincing Reasons of their deriving from us, & not we from them.

" It is therefore highly injurious, to make our *Language* a Debtor to any; when it is clear She is the principal *Creditor*, & that all her neighbouring *Languages* have borrowed of Her : She helped to nurse them up to what they are, being *Herself* a *Mother Language;* &, notwithstanding Her being so old, has continued the same She was, unaltered, as well as unmixed; whereas many other *Tongues* are rather Dialects, or corrupt Compositions of several *Languages*, & from time to time vary from what they were before. *Englishmen* will want an Interpreter, to understand their own *Language* as it was talked a few Centuries ago : But the *British* is now the same as it was; the *Prophecies* of Old TALIESSIN, written above a *Thousand Years* since, are at this Day intelligible. The *English* seem to be still refining; hardly a Year, or an Author, but brings forth some new-coined Words. It is not unlikely, but in Process of Time the Language of the higher & lower People will become two different Dialects; it is almost so already in some places, where the latter are but poorly off for edification by the Language used in some Pulpits.

"I must not omit to wipe off one other Aspersion our *Welsh Tongue* labours under: It is condemned, but unjustly, as a worthless Tongue, affording no knowledge of Moment, being no Key to any valuable Treasure. But, should we not highly esteem it, for a better Translation than common of the *Holy Bible* & the *Public Worship* of GOD therein; seeing but few of our People can enjoy these inestimable Blessings in any other Language. We have also several sound *Authors* in *Divinity*, and *Tracts* of *Divine Poems*, which cannot be made to speak in any other Tongue, without losing much of its Force and Beauty; Nor is it destitute of many *Monuments* of *Antiquity;* considerable Numbers of *Manuscripts* of *ancient Dates* do still remain both in private Hands & publick Repositories; many more indeed have been lost, through the Misfortune of Wars, & other Accidents; yet still some are left; & the *Language* itself gives no small Assistance to the Knowledge of *Antiquities*. 'Where shall we so properly search (*says Mr. Cambden*) as in our *British Language*, which is so pure, unmixt, and extremely ancient? For *ancient Languages* (*continues the Author*) are highly serviceable to the finding out the first *Original of Things*.' Upon the Whole, it is humbly hoped, the *Welsh Language* can be charged with no Blemishes, but such as may serve to shew forth her excellencies; & although now greatly reduced in Estate, having been the *Language* of much larger Territories, & at present contracted to a narrow Compass, She has not lost Her *Charms*, nor *Chasteness*, remains unalterably the same, is now perhaps the same She was *Four thousand Years* ago; still retains the *Beauties* of *her Youth*, grown *old in Years*, but not *decayed*. I pray, that due Regard may be had to *her great Age*, *her intrinsick Usefulness;* and that *her long-standing Repute* may not be stained by wrong Imputations: Let it suffice, that so great a Part of *her Dominions* have been usurped from Her; but let no Violence be offered to *her life:* Let Her stay the appointed Time, to expire a peaceful & natural Death, which we trust will not be till the Consummation of all Things, when all the Languages of the World will be reduced into one again. If I may be thought to have been a little too pleasant, upon Apprehension, that, by this time, my *Mother Tongue* is pretty well out of Danger, I hope to be excused; since I have not (as I know) exceeded the Truth in what I have pleaded for Her."*

* To illustrate Griffith Jones's method of literary composition I am impelled to quote a passage from *Some Account of the Life and Writings of the late Pious and Learned Mr.* James Owen, *Minister of the Gospel in Salop* (1709), a book which he must almost certainly have had at hand.

The Welsh language has the further advantage of

"being perhaps the *chastest* in all *Europe*. Its Books and Writings are free from the Infection and deadly Venom of *Atheism, Deism, Infidelity, Arianism, Popery, lewd Plays, immodest Romances,* and *Love Intrigues;* which poison the Minds, captivate all the Senses, and prejudice so many (conversant with them) against their Duty to God, and due Care of their own Souls; and which, by too many Books in *English,* and some other Languages, are this Day grievously propagated."

With so strong an affection for his own language it is fitting that Griffith Jones should have done as much as any one man for its perpetuation. And so far as the schools were concerned, his policy was justified: the teaching of English had been slow and costly—"for the same Money there could be but *One* taught to read *English* for *Twelve* that are now taught *Welsh*", and anomalous: "To give them *English* Schools, must be the same as setting up *French* Charity Schools for the Poor in *England.*"* At the same time he was reasonable enough to

"Permit me to do a piece of Justice to that Antiquated Language in contracting what the learned *Fuller* is pleas'd to say more at large of it. Speaking of the old *Britains,* he saith,

"1. 'Their Language is Native: 'Twas one of those which departed from *Babel,* and herein it relates to God, as the more immediate Author thereof: Whereas most Tongues in *Europe* are generated from the Corruption of Originals.

"2. 'It's unmix'd, needs no Foreign Words to express it self. The *Romans* were so far from making the *Britains* to do, that they could not make 'em speak as they wou'd have 'em. Their very Language never had a perfect Conquest in this *Island.* 'Tis the least mix'd with Foreign Words of any in *Europe.* [Coll. Dict. Arist. in verb. Wall.]

"3. 'Unalter'd. Other Tongues are daily disguis'd with Foreign Words, so that in a Century of Years, they grow Strangers to 'emselves: As now an *Englishman* needs an Interpreter to understand *Chaucer's English*: but the *British* continues so constant to its self, that the Prophesies of old *Teliessin* who liv'd a Thousand Years since, are at this day intelligible in that Tongue.

"4. 'It's durable, which had its Beginning at the Confusion of Tongues, and is likely not to have its Ending 'till the Dissolution of the World. [His Church Hist. B. II. Cent. VII. p. 65.)'"

* Cf. the testimony of Thos. Ellis, Lecturer of Holyhead: "My Parishioners grow more sensible of the Value of the Instruction gained in the *Welch* School, preferably to that useless smattering in *English* (which is not gotten but at a great Expense of Time and Money, and yet is very soon lost for want of Practice and a thorough Proficiency in that Language)."

open English schools in districts (like Pembrokeshire) where English was spoken, and "likewise some schools of mixed English and Welsh Scholars, on the borders."*

It remains to give a brief account of the Circulating Schools after 1761. They were carried on by Mrs. Bevan, until her death in 1779; the number of schools set up during this period being, we are told, 3,280, with 168,838 scholars.†

In 1764 (or 1765) a report on the Schools was made by a commissioner for Catherine II of Russia, which has recently been printed by Mr. David Salmon.‡ The information was doubtless given by the S.P.C.K. in London, since that Society continued to assist the Welsh Schools; and in the previous century Peter had interested himself in the charity school movement during his stay in England.§ It is certainly remarkable that news of the Welsh Schools should have reached so distant a country within a few years of their founder's death.

Griffith Jones had left about £7,000 to Mrs. Bevan for the continuation of the Schools; in her will some £10,000‖ was bequeathed for the same purpose. The will was however disputed by Dame Elizabeth Stepney, one of the trustees; the fund was accordingly put in Chancery, from which it did

* *Welch Piety*, 1742–43, and 1745–46. There were English Circulating Schools at Caerleon, Abergavenny, and other places in Monmouthshire.

† The following table occurs in *Welch Piety* for 1771:—

In the Year.	Schools.	Scholars.
1761 ..	210 ..	8,023
1762 ..	225 ..	9,616
1763 ..	279 ..	11,770
1764 ..	195 ..	9,453
1765 ..	189 ..	9,029
1766 ..	219 ..	10,986
1767 ..	190 ..	8,422
1768 ..	148 ..	7,149
1769 ..	173 ..	8,637
1770 ..	159 ..	9,042
1771 ..	181 ..	9,844

‡ *Trans. Carmarthenshire Antiq. Soc.*, in *The Welshman*, December 10th, 1926.

§ See Highmore, *Pietas Londinensis* (1810), p. 634.

‖ These figures are variously given in different accounts. The fullest is the *History of the Institution once called "The Welsh Piety," but now known as Mrs. Bevan's Charity*, by C. Morgan-Richardson (Cardigan, 1890).

not emerge for thirty years. In the meantime the Schools had "died of inanition." One of the last things written by Williams Pantycelyn was "A Serious Address, presented to the Consideration of all charitable and well-disposed Christians, for contributing some Part of their monied Properties, to raise a small Fund, to carry on Welsh Charity Schools, upon a similar Plan with that established by the late Rev. Mr. Griffith Jones, and continued by Mrs. Bevan," issued in Welsh and English on August 12th, 1790—five months before his death. There were special reasons for his interest in the work. As a young curate at Llanwrtyd he had, in 1741, certified that the schoolmaster as Pentre-ty-gwyn* had "behaved himself civil and according to the prescribed Rules, without taking upon himself to be *an Exhorter* or anything unbecoming his Calling." Moreover, his wife had, before her marriage, lived at Llanddowror as the companion of Mrs. Griffith Jones. In his "Address" Pantycelyn emphasizes the need for the schools :

"There is reason to believe that the fourth part of the poor inhabitants of South Wales are incapable of reading their mother tongue ; and in North Wales one part out of three of the poor, if not one out of two, are total strangers to the rudiments of their native language."

He therefore pleads for subscriptions "for the purpose of raising a new fund, or stock of money, similar to the former, but not equal in amount" ; and drafts rules for its administration. He adds quaintly,

"N.B.—Be it known, after all, that if ever, or as soon as the nine thousand pounds legacy, left by Mrs. Bevan, for the Welsh Charity Schools, is applied to its original and designed use and purpose, that this scheme, however well meant, shall be dropped, made void, and carried on no further."

Whether anything came of this scheme, I do not know. But in 1809 Mrs. Bevan's will was regulated by a decree in Chancery, the fund having now increased by interest to over £30,000. Schools were to be re-established, but on the "National" (i.e. Bell's) system ; the children were to be taught the Church Catechism, and reading, writing, and arithmetic. Except for a permanent model (or training)

* He also certified the schoolmaster at Llanwrtyd.

school at Newport, Pem., the schools were, as before, temporary. In the Report on Public Charities, 1842, further particulars are given ; but it is significant that there is no mention of adults : the resuscitated schools seem to have been no more than ordinary National Schools, paid for out of the old charity. In 1854 they were all closed, the funds being applied to Church Schools ; in fact, small grants are still paid to such schools in the dioceses of Wales.

But though the schools came to this inglorious end, the work of Griffith Jones is writ large on the face of his native land. Through his agency Wales has made a great and independent contribution, in the Sunday School, to Adult Education ; and she still has her language.

APPENDIX I.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF "WELCH PIETY."

THE annual report of the Circulating Schools seems first to have been entitled *Welch Piety* (or, rather, *Welch Piety, Continued*) in the number issued in 1742, for the year 1740–41. Before that date Griffith Jones published, in 1740, *Three Letters to a Friend* (dated March 30th, 1738; August 16th, 1739; October 11th, 1739); in 1740 also appeared *A Further Account of the Progress of the Circulating Welch Charity-Schools;* and in 1741, *An Address to the Charitable and Well-Disposed.*" These together contain an account of the Schools up to 1740. From 1740–41 *Welch Piety* appeared without a break until his death, and afterwards was issued by Mrs. Bevan. He also published in 1745 *A Letter to a Clergyman* (88 pages).

In 1753 a two-volume edition was published, with the title *Welch Piety: or, a Collection of the several Accounts of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools, From their First Rise, in the Year* 1737, *to Michaelmas,* 1752. *In several Letters to a Friend.*" A preface, written probably by Sir John Thorold, "To the Benevolent and Christian Reader," states that "the modesty of this worthy Clergyman (Griffith Jones) would be offended, should we ascribe aught to him on this Occasion; though we might venture to give Honour to whom it is due, when we can assure the World, that the good Man knows nothing of this Address to the Public." Thus it may perhaps be assumed that this collected edition was published as a testimonial to Griffith Jones, and as a counterblast to John Evans's attack in 1752. A third volume containing *Welch Piety* from 1752–53 to 1759–60 appeared in 1760.

These three volumes are in both the National Library of Wales and Cardiff Free Library. The Cardiff Library also possesses two interesting volumes, in one of which is bound up the Rules (see above, p. 47); the other contains *Welch Piety* for the years 1770–71 to 1775–76 inclusive (as well as for some earlier years).

The Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea, has a number entitled *Welch Piety, or a succinct Account of the Rise and Progress of the Circulating Welch Charity Schools, from the Year* 1737, *to the Year* 1761. This, the first number to appear after the death of Griffith Jones, contains the *Account* for the year 1760–61. The National Library has the accounts for 1761–62 and 1762–63. I know of no copy of *Welch Piety* for the years 1763–64 to 1769–70, nor for 1776–77 to 1778–79; but it was presumably carried on until Mrs. Bevan's death in 1779.

APPENDIX II.

GRIFFITH JONES'S DIARY.

"My progress with Sir Jno Philipps began June 30. From Llanddowror to Picton Castle computed 12 miles. July 1. Rested at Picton Castle. July 2. To Cardigan 18 m. Called in our way there at Mr. Lloyd's of Penpedwell. July 3. To Aberystwyth. Called at a poor ale house at Llanarth about 12 m. (sic) from Cardigan, and then to Mr Hughes of Veynog (q. Vrynog) 2 m. who sent us to Aberystwyth, it being 12 long miles. Out here a tract of land covered by the sea called Cantrev and further on cors mochyn (sic) 8 or 9 miles long. July 4. To Machynlleth, called at Carrog to see the leaden ore and the smelting of it, &c. 9 miles, from thence to Machynlleth, 3 m. July 5. To Bala in Meirionydd shire 21 m. Called at Mathavarn, Dinas y Mawddfu and Llanmawddfu. July 6. Rested at Bala (it being Sunday) where there is a remarkable lake 3 m. long, and a mile broad called Llyntegid. July 7. Thro' Corwen 7 m. from Bala. Baited at Llangollen in Denbigh shire 6 m. from Llangollen and passed through Ruabon where we saw a fine church. That night to Wrexham 6 m. From Bala 19 m. July 8. Went to Wrexham Church from whose tower we had a fine prospect. This Church and this town are reckon'd ye best in North Wales. In the evening went about a mile out of town to see Erddig a seat of Mr. Meller supposed to be the finest seat in North Wales, and by night returned again to town. July 9. Set out from Wrexham to Ruthin 12 m. a town inferior to Wrexham where we baited and thence through Dyffryn Clwyd (a fine valley) to Denbigh 5 mile. I have now seen a great deal of God's works and ye world's vanity. Called in the way to Denbighshire to see Llanrhaiadr Church, and a fine wall about it. July 10. From Denbigh and Flintshire to St. Asaph where we din'd with the Bishop Dr. Wynne 4 m and thence to Holywell 8 m. God bless us from popery. July 11. To Flint 4 m. Thence through the ford to the city of Chester in Cheshire, England. Went to see the Bishop of Chester

(Dr Gastrell). July 12. By boat to Leverpool 12 m. July 13. Rested at Leverpool, it being Sunday. July 14. Called at Lord Derby in our way to Warington, where we lodged that night 12 m. July 15. To Manchester 12 m. Where I saw the beautifullest church that ever I saw. Thence to Bolton 8 m. July 16. To Wiggan where they make standishes (i.e., inkstands), snuff boxes, &c of —— cole and thence to Preston 14 m. July 17. To Geelong 10 m. and thence to Lancaster 10 m. where in the morning we saw the castle and a fair bridge. July 18. To Kendal a pretty large town 16 m. to which we came thro' Burton a town half way between Lancaster and Kendal and thence in the evening to Ambleside 10 m. to Esher a market town by which is the biggest lake in England 10 miles long and in many places a mile broad. July 19 From Ambleside to Keswick 12 m. very rough road and high hills ; and from Keswick to Whitehaven a long 18 m. where we saw Mr. Lowther's engine working by the high bowling green. July 20. Being Sunday, rested there. July 21. Rested there. July 22 and 23, Rested there at Mr. Lowther's house. July 24. From Mr. Lowther's of Whitehaven to Cockermouth 12 m. and thence to Wigton 8 m. where we met with a very cunning woman for our Landlady, i.e., Mrs. Murrey. July 25. To Carlisle 8 m. a city with two rivers on both sides and two bridges 4 in all and the city walls about. Thence to Scotland thro' the river fords yt parts both Kingdoms 7 m. and up to Gretna Kirk thatch'd with few poor heaps (sic) yet a market town 1 m. thence to Longtown a poor place in England 3 m. July 26. From Longtown in Northumberland thro' . . . to Haltwistle 17 m. thence to Hexham 13 m. July 27 Rested being Sunday. July 28. To Newcastle 17 m. wall'd town, walk upon the walls and iron gate. Many ships in ye Key, great trading of coal. In our way to Newcastle within a mile or two of Hexham went to see Lord Derwenter's house called Dilson Hall. July 29. To Tinmouth Castle, Clifford's fort (28 guns) &c Sheals a good large town on both sides by ye sea with great shipping 9 m. thence to Sunderland, seaport town with shipping for coals 6. between Sheals and Sunderland is a place called Warwickshire for which I could have no account. In Sunderland is one new church not yet consecrated. July 30. From Sunderland to Durham 12 m. Walled city, ye river running about it like a horse shoe. Stately cathedral with ye tombs of St. Cuthbert,

ye floor worn out in bowing to him and Venerable Bede who was interred there 734. Stately palace for ye Bishop and fine houses for ye Priests. Six churches beside the Cathedral 5 rich cops for ye priests. July 31. To Darlington a little town with one church 14 m. August 1. To the river Tyne (Tees) that parts Durham and Yorkshire 2 m. to Allerton a little town 8 m. To Top Clyff 8 m. at the end of which is the river . . . and thence to . . . 4 m. July (? August) 2. To York 12 m. a walled city 24 churches, a noble Cathedrall, a castle in good order a place for making laces. There met Capt. De Leuze. August 3. It being Sunday rested. August 4. Dined with Captain De Leuze and in the evening went to see the Archbishop's Palace, &c. August 5. To Beverley 22 m. a pretty little town with four streets and two noble churches one of which being a Cathedrall with a chair of Rd, where also near is a fine garden. Thence to Hull or rather Kington upon the river Hull 8 m. a town fair built, strong fortification, a workhouse for boys and girls to spin and work, two churches one of ym Cathedrall-wise. Hospital for 15 freemen's widows, where we saw a boat of skin taken with a wild man in it that lived by sea with his every . . . August 6. Thence over Humber in a boat 5 m. to Barton Aug. 7. Thence to the city of Lincoln 30 m. about 15 churches (one fourth might have service) a fine minster, less but fairer than that of York with 3 churches 15 bells, ye great one being 20 ft. about, an image. (There is a hiatus here). August 12. To Burton upon Trent a market town in Staffordshire with a very long fair church and by it a fair bridge over Trent 37 arches. Met Mr. Buckly and Mr. Jno Shrewd. Aug. 13. To Tamworth 8 miles a market-town, thence to Mr. John Mills and to Castle Bromwich Mr. John Bridgeman's and to my Lord Digby's seat and to Coleshill a market town 11 m. At my Lord Digby's and Mr Cast ye curate of Coleshill. August 14. To Warwick 12 m. Called by ye way at Mr. Clementson's and his son in law Lord Gainsby to see his fine house and garden called Great Packington. At Warwick went to see ye church where were severall monuments of ye Earls of Warwick done in Brass and the house of My Lady . . . and her fine castle upon the river Avon where we saw many fine rooms and Guy of Warwick's sword and armour &c. This castle is now Lord Brook's house. August 15. To Stratford upon Avon 12 m. a market town. Went to Mr.

Clopton* Sir Jno's relation where we dined. thence to Evesham another market town 10 m. Aug. 16. To Worcester 12 m. thro' Pershore a market town halfway. In Worcester is 12 churches inclusive of the Cathedrall in which we saw many monuments viz. Bishop Fleetwood, Stillingfleet, Thomas. Two stone coffins with holes in the middle. In the green two noble slabs of stone and a small monument with about 50 dials upon it. Saw Mr. Cleveland Lloyd and ye Judges Dormer and Fortescue. Aug. 17. Rested being Sunday. August 18. To Ledbury a market town 12 m. to Ross 8 m. to Monmouth 10 m. In Monmouth an almshouse for 20 persons with ye allowance of 3s. 6d. to each per week. House for a schoolmaster and usher and minister near Church. Aug. 19. From Monmouth to Usk upon ye river Usk a market town 8 m. to Caerlleon on Usk 2 m. a market town, two wooden bridges one upon Usk, ye other upon Caerlleon to Newport market town, a wooden bridge here upon Usk. To Cardiff 8 m. Called by the way at Tredegar.

* Probably Hugh Clopton who lived in Shakespere's house, New Place, at Stratford.

APPENDIX III.

THE REV. JOHN EVANS.

Mr. David Salmon has very kindly given me information about the Rev. John Evans, in addition to what is published in his article "John Evans and the Welsh Bible of 1769" (*Journal of the Welsh Bibliographical Society*, October, 1917). Evans was born at Meidrim, about five miles from Llanddowror, September 27th, 1702. He matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, February 26th, 1722; there is at least negative evidence that he did not graduate. The Church Register of Eglwys Cymmin, however, gives him a degree: "1781, March 14. The Rev. John Evans, A.M., Rector of this parish upwards of 51 years and about 40 years Reading chaplain at Her Majesty's chappel at White Hall." He lived in Westminster, and seems to have visited Eglwys Cymmin but rarely. He was a neighbour in London of Richard Morris, the first President of the Cymmrodorion Society (1751); Evans was a member of the Council from the beginning. He wrote in 1749 a pamphlet against Griffith Jones and Whitefield—but no copy appears to exist. On March 1st, 1750, he preached the annual sermon before the Society of Antient Britons at St. Andrew's, Holborn; this was published under the title "The Christian Soldier" (copy in British Museum). It is largely an appeal for contributions for the school set up in 1718 for the children of poor Welsh people living in London; he argues that children must be trained in Christian religion in order that they may like soldiers withstand the Devil. The following passage suggests that one of the disguises adopted by the Devil was Griffith Jones:—

"I observe this, because It has been, of a long while, one of Satan's Devices, in which He seems to have made Improvements of late, to attempt to destroy Religion by Itself; And I am persuaded, with many my Betters, that if ever Christianity be expelled this *Island*, It will be by a Spirit that highly pretends unto it, by such as boast of a *more* than *ordinary Sense* of It upon their *Minds*, i.e. If ever Religion be thrust out of our Doors (which God forbid) it will be by *Superstition* and *Hypocrisy*. So that (as a Learned Man

observes) ' the Roaring of the *Lion* is not so formidable as the Wily Subtilties of the *Serpent:* And the *Deceiver* in the *Close Pharisee,* is more dangerous than *Satan* in the *Publican,* and *open Sinner.*'

" Now, says the same learned Gentleman, ' the Way to defeat Frauds and Wiles is, to understand them : and the Designer is disappointed, as soon as his Practices are discovered.' Princes, Magistrates, Parents, and Masters of Families, do therefore owe this care to their own Interest, that they endeavour to make their Subjects, Children, and Servants, early acquainted with the Acts of their Enemy ; ' And they will be secure from the Danger of their Influence, when they *are not Ignorant of his Devices.*'

" Naked Innocence, and Virtue unarm'd, and unassisted by *This Wisdom,* are easily undermined by the *Cunning Craftiness* of such as *lie in wait to deceive.* Therefore the Apostle exhorts to *add to Virtue Knowledge,* 2 Pet. i. 5. And I plead only for *so* much *Wisdom* as may teach these, yet Innocents, to *fear the Lord ;* and, for *that* Understanding, whereby they may learn *to depart from Evil,* from *that Evil one, Satan,* tho' transformed into *an Angel of Light.* To teach Children to think *soberly* about Religion, and to perform a *Reasonable Service,* is a very necessary Point of Wisdom and Instruction."

This school had the aims usually found in Charity Schools —(1) to save the children's souls and (2) to turn them into useful servants. Contributions are accordingly invited :

" But the Builders will expect their Hire. Such as labour in their Education must be paid for their Time and Pains : and the Bodies of these Helpless Orphans must be cloathed and fed, while their Minds are framing to Religion, upon which alone (as I have shewed you) depends their Future Service to themselves and to the Public.

" Nothing higher than *This* is intended for them ; and I become their Advocate for nothing *more* than may serve to render them Capable of *saving their own Souls,* and of being *Useful in their Generation.* . . . These Children, for whom I have taken upon me to plead with You, are All intended for Your future Service. And I hope that it hath been made to appear to you, from the former Part of this Discourse, that such as Ye shall now contribute to make them ; such you will be sure to find them, when You come to employ them."

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The school began in a room near Hatton Garden ; but, in 1737, moved to premises of its own on Clerkenwell Green. As it prospered, the place was enlarged, and in 1772 freehold ground was purchased " on the right-hand side of the road from Gray's Inn-lane to Pancras," sufficient to accommodate 100 children. (See Highmore, *Pietas Londinensis*, 1810.) The Charity still conducts a school for Welsh Girls at Ashford, Middlesex. This was perhaps the Welsh Charity to which Goldsmith contributed £50 after his assault upon Evans the publisher (1773).

Evans's interest in this London school may have been an additional cause of hostility to the Circulating Schools ; since Griffith Jones obtained many subscriptions from England, he doubtless diverted money that might have gone to the Ancient Britons.

(See also " A Brief Account of the Rise, Progress, and present State of the most honourable and loyal Society of Ancient Britons, and their Charity School" 1818. Copy in the Royal Institution of South Wales, Swansea. Further particulars of the Charity are given in *Welsh Bygones*.)

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